

Arthur Miall  
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# Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT, AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XXVI.—NEW SERIES, No. 1 67.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18, 1866.

PRICE { UNSTAMPED.. 6d.  
STAMPED 6d.

SOCIETY for the LIBERATION of RELIGION from STATE PATRONAGE and CONTROL.

The ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING will be held on WEDNESDAY EVENING, May the 2nd, at the HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS, LONDON.

The Chair will be taken by WILLIAM EDWARDS, Esq., the Treasurer, at Half-past Six o'clock, and addresses will be delivered by T. BARNES, Esq., M.P.; H. E. CRUM EWING, Esq., M.P.; Rev. DAVID KING, D.D., of Westbourne-park; Rev. J. G. ROGERS, of Clapham; CHARLES REED Esq., F.S.A.; Rev. C. H. SPURGEON; Rev. MARK WILKS, of Holloway; and other gentlemen.

Cards of Admission may be had on application—personal or by letter—at the Society's Offices.

As the Society's financial year closes on the 30th of April, it is requested that subscriptions intended to appear with the forthcoming Report, and also contributions to the Special Fund, may be remitted before that date—in favour of WM. EDWARDS, Esq., the Treasurer.

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary.  
2, Serjeant's Inn, Fleet-street, London.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

ANNUAL SERVICES, 1866.

THURSDAY, APRIL 19TH,

INTRODUCTORY PRAYER MEETING at JOHN-STREET CHAPEL, commencing at 11 o'clock a.m. Rev. JOSHUA RUSSELL will preside.

ANNUAL MEETING OF BIBLE TRANSLATION SOCIETY

At KINGSGATE-STREET CHAPEL, HOLBORN. Chair to be taken at 7 o'clock by S. R. PATTISON, Esq., F.G.S.

FRIDAY, APRIL 20TH,

ANNUAL WELSH SERMON at ELDON-STREET CHAPEL, will be preached by Rev. J. G. OWEN, of Rhyl, at Seven o'clock p.m.

LORD'S DAY, APRIL 22ND.

SERMONS on behalf of the Mission will be preached in Baptist Chapels in London by various Ministers.

TUESDAY, APRIL 24TH,

ANNUAL MEMBERS' MEETING in JOHN-STREET CHAPEL, at Ten o'clock a.m.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25TH,

THE ANNUAL SERMONS

will be Preached, that in the Morning, at WALWORTH-ROAD CHAPEL, by Rev. W. WALTERS, of Newcastle, at Eleven o'clock; and in the Evening at BLOOMSBURY CHAPEL, by Rev. R. W. DALE, M.A., of Birmingham, at Half-past Six o'clock.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26TH,

ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING in EXETER HALL. Chair to be taken at Eleven o'clock, a.m., by W. E. BAXTER, Esq., M.P.

Rev. R. Robinson, of Dacca; J. Aldis, of Reading; J. P. Chown, of Bradford; E. G. Gange, of Landport, and R. Robinson, Home Secretary of London Missionary Society, to address the Meeting.

BAPTIST UNION of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

ANNUAL MEETINGS, MONDAY, April 23rd.

Rev. JOHN ALDIS, Chairman.

MORNING SESSION.—Upton Chapel, Lambeth-road, 10 a.m. Devotions; Chairman's Address; Report of Committee; Resolution by Rev. J. Drew (Margate); Paper on "Religious Benevolence among Baptists," by Rev. W. R. Stevenson, M.A. (Nottingham); Resolution by Rev. Arthur Mursell (Manchester); Petition for Opening Universities, &c.; Resolution by H. M. Bompas, Esq., M.A., of the Middle Temple, and one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

EVENING SESSION.—Metropolitan Tabernacle, Six p.m. Devotional Exercises, with Addresses by Rev. J. P. Chown (Bradford); Rev. D. Evans (Llanelli, author of "Life of Christmas Evans"), and Rev. C. H. Spurgeon.

Dinner and Tea provided at the Metropolitan Tabernacle for Delegates and Ministers.

E. STEANE, D.D.  
J. H. MILLARD, B.A. { Secretaries.

SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY of the RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

On TUESDAY EVENING, May 1st, a SERMON will be preached in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, by the Rev. W. CADMAN, M.A., Rector of Holy Trinity, Marybone.

On WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 2nd, a SERMON will be preached at the Rev. Dr. Hamilton's Church, Regent-square, by the Rev. D. CANDLISH, of Free St. George's, Edinburgh.

Divine Service on both occasions to begin at Seven o'clock.

On FRIDAY EVENING, May 4th, the ANNUAL MEETING will be held at EXETER HALL; the Chair to be taken by Sir FRANCIS CROSSLEY, of Halifax, Bart. and M.P. Speaker—the Rev. R. BURGESS, B.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Rector of Upper Chelsea; Rev. SAMUEL MARTIN, of Westminster; Rev. W. PENNEFATHER, A.M., Incumbent of St. Jago's, Islington; Rev. C. VINCE, Birrington; and the Rev. Dr. CRAIG, of Hamburgh.

The Chair to be taken at Half-past Six o'clock.

Tickets for the Annual Meeting may be had, on and after the 22nd of April, at the Depository, 56, Paternoster-row; 66, St. Paul's Churchyard; and 101, Piccadilly.

MOTTOES OF THE SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE SOCIETY.—Loving without sect, Giving without stint, Praying without let, and Praising without end.

## THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE SOCIETY will (d.v.) be held in the Large Room, EXETER HALL, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, 2nd May, 1866.

ROBERT CULLING HANBURY, Esq., M.P. for Middlesex, will take the Chair at a Quarter to Seven o'clock.

Brief Addresses will be delivered on Partial Pauperism, Ignorance, Vice and Crime, at Home; Prevalent Superstition, Infidelity, and Idolatry Abroad; and the Paramount Duty, Obvious Means and Glorious Privileges, of striving to overturn and abolish these giant evils; by Rev. W. W. Champneys, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's, W.C.; Rev. A. Thomas, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. T. Sinney, of Weigh House Chapel, E.C.

Rev. W. Edmond, D.D., of Highbury, N.; Rev. W. R. Morison, M.A., of Halifax; Rev. T. Aveling of Kingsland; Rev. Charles Vince, of Birmingham; Rev. S. Minton, M.A., of Eaton Chapel, S.W.; Rev. Arthur Mursell, of Manchester; Rev. E. Jenkins, of Hackney, N.E.; Rev. A. M. Symington, B.A., of Dumfries; Rev. L. Wiseman, of Lambeth, S.; Rev. W. Chalmers, M.A., of Paddington, W.; Rev. John Rose, of Hackney, N.E.; and it is expected that the Rev. W. Taylor, late of Australia; John Murdoch, Esq., late of Calcutta; Messrs. Salmon, Williamson, Hill, G. M. Murphy, and other Gentlemen will take part in the proceedings.

The Collection will be made at a Quarter to Nine o'clock.

## NOTICES TO THE PUBLIC.

1. The Doors will be opened at a Quarter to Seven o'clock.

2. The Organ will be played from half-past Six o'clock, and during the Hymns and Collection.

3. The Working Classes are especially invited, as several Working Men will address the Meeting.

4. Private Carriages and Cabs will wait in Exeter-street.

5. Omnibuses (kindly provided) will wait in the Strand to convey home, free of charge, all showing Tickets, along the following routes:—Bayswater, W.; Paddington, N.W.; Camden-town, N.W.; Highbury, N.; Kingland, N.E.; Hackney, N.E.; Whitechapel, E.; Kennington, S.; Lambeth, S.W.; and Brompton, S.W. They will leave at a Quarter to ten o'clock in the above order.

6. Free Tickets of Admission, available for Omnibuses, may be had at the Office of the Society, 7, Adam-street, Adelphi, W.C.; The Nonconformist Office, 18, Bowes-street, E.C.; the Religious Tract Society, 56, Paternoster-row; the Methodist Book Room, 86, Paternoster-row; Mr. J. Snow, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Bagster and Sons, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, Paternoster-row; Mr. S. W. Partridge, Paternoster-row; Mr. G. Stevenson, Paternoster-row; the Methodist New Connexion Book Room, Paternoster-row; Young Men's Christian Association, 185, Aldersgate-street, and Marlborough-street; the Sunday-school Union, 26, Old Bailey, E.C.; and Messrs. J. Nisbet and Co., 21, Berners street; also at numerous Churches and Chapels on Sunday, the 29th of April.

ROBERT G. CATHER, LL.D., General Secretary.

7, Adam-street, Adelphi, W.C., London, April 11, 1866.

The ANNUAL SERMON will (d.v.) be preached in WEIGH-HOUSE CHAPEL by the Rev. ANDREW THOMSON, D.D., of Edinburgh, on TUESDAY EVENING, 1st May, at Seven o'clock. A Collection will be made.

P.S.—It is earnestly requested that Sermons on Systematic Benevolence (without collections) may be preached in as many churches and chapels as possible on Sunday, the 29th April;

and Tickets for the Meeting, applied for by letter, at 7, Adam-street, W.C., by all ministers who are willing to have them given away to their congregations as they retire shall be promptly forwarded free by post.

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BURN, HOLBORN-HILL, LONDON—WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11, 1866.

# NONCONFORMIST.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT, AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XXVI.—NEW SERIES, No. 1 67.]

LONDON : WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18, 1866.

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STAMPED 6d.

SOCIETY for the LIBERATION of RELIGION from STATE PATRONAGE and CONTROL.

The ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING will be held on WEDNESDAY EVENING, May the 2nd, at the HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS, LONDON.

The Chair will be taken by WILLIAM EDWARDS, Esq., the Treasurer, at Half-past Six o'clock, and addresses will be delivered by T. BARNES, Esq., M.P.; H. E. CRUM EWING, Esq., M.P.; Rev. DAVID KING, D.D., of Westbourne-park; Rev. J. G. ROOERS, of Clapham; CHARLES REED Esq., F.S.A.; Rev. C. H. SPURGEON; Rev. MARK WILKS, of Holloway; and other gentlemen.

Cards of Admission may be had on application—personal or by letter—at the Society's Offices.

As the Society's financial year closes on the 30th of April, it is requested that subscriptions intended to appear with the forthcoming Report, and also contributions to the Special Fund, may be remitted before that date—in favour of WM. EDWARDS, Esq., the Treasurer.

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary.  
2, Serjeant's Inn, Fleet-street, London.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

ANNUAL SERVICES, 1866.

THURSDAY, APRIL 19TH,  
INTRODUCTORY PRAYER MEETING  
at JOHN-STREET CHAPEL, commencing at 11 o'clock a.m.  
Rev. JOSHUA RUSSELL will preside.

ANNUAL MEETING OF BIBLE TRANSLATION SOCIETY

At KINGSGATE-STREET CHAPEL, HOLBORN. Chair to be taken at 7 o'clock by S. R. PATTISON, Esq., F.G.S.

FRIDAY, APRIL 20TH,  
ANNUAL WELSH SERMON  
At ELDON-STREET CHAPEL, will be preached by Rev. J. G. OWEN, of Rhyl, at Seven o'clock p.m.

LORD'S DAY, APRIL 22ND.  
SERMONS  
on behalf of the Mission will be preached in Baptist Chapels in London by various Ministers.

TUESDAY, APRIL 24TH,  
ANNUAL MEMBERS' MEETING  
In JOHN-STREET CHAPEL, at Ten o'clock a.m.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26TH,  
THE ANNUAL SERMONS  
Will be Preached, that in the Morning at WALWORTH-ROAD CHAPEL, by Rev. W. WALTERS, of Newcastle, at Eleven o'clock; and in the Evening at BLOOMSBURY CHAPEL, by Rev. R. W. DALE, M.A., of Birmingham, at Half-past Six o'clock.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26TH,  
ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING  
In EXETER HALL. Chair to be taken at Eleven o'clock, a.m., by W. E. BAXTER, Esq., M.P.

Rev. R. Robinson, of Dacca, J. Aldis, of Reading, J. P. Chown, of Bradford, E. G. Gange, of Landport, and R. Robinson, Home Secretary of London Missionary Society, to address the Meeting.

BAPTIST UNION of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

ANNUAL MEETINGS, MONDAY, April 23rd.

Rev. JOHN ALDIS, Chairman.

MORNING SESSION.—Upton Chapel, Lambeth-road, 10 a.m. Devotions; Chairman's Address; Report of Committee; Resolution by Rev. J. Drew (Margate); Paper on "Religious Beneficence among Baptists," by Rev. W. R. Stevenson, M.A. (Nottingham); Resolution by Rev. Arthur Mursell (Manchester); Petition for Opening Universities, &c.; Resolution by H. M. Bompar, Esq., M.A., of the Middle Temple, and one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

EVENING SESSION.—Metropolitan Tabernacle, Six p.m. Devotional Exercises, with Addresses by Rev. J. P. Chown (Bradford); Rev. D. Evans (Llanelli, author of "Life of Christmas Evans"), and Rev. C. H. Spurgeon.

Dinner and Tea provided at the Metropolitan Tabernacle for Delegates and Ministers.

E. STEANE, D.D.  
J. H. MILLARD, B.A. } Secretaries.

SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY of the RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

On TUESDAY EVENING, May 1st, a SERMON will be preached in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, by the Rev. W. CADMAN, M.A., Rector of Holy Trinity, Marybone.

On WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 2nd, a SERMON will be preached at the Rev. Dr. Hamilton's Church, Regent-square, by the Rev. Dr. CANDLISH, of Free St. George's, Edinburgh. Divine Service on both occasions to begin at Seven o'clock.

On FRIDAY EVENING, May 4th, the ANNUAL MEETING will be held at EXETER HALL; the Chair to be taken by Sir FRANCIS CROSSLEY, of Halifax, Bart. and M.P. Speaker—the Rev. R. BURGESS, B.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Rector of Upper Chelsea; Rev. SAMUEL MARTIN, of Westminster; Rev. W. PENNEFATHER, A.M., Incumbent of St. Jude's, Islington; Rev. C. VINCE, Birmingham; and the Rev. Dr. CRAIG, of Hamburgh.

The Chair to be taken at Half-past Six o'clock.

Tickets for the Annual Meeting may be had, on and after the 22nd of April, at the Depositories, 56, Paternoster-row; 65, St. Paul's Churchyard; and 161, Piccadilly.

MOTTOES OF THE SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE SOCIETY.—Loving without sect, Giving without stint, Praying without let, and Praising without end.

## THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE SOCIETY will (D.V.) be held in the Large Room, EXETER HALL, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, 2nd May, 1866.

ROBERT CULLING HANBURY, Esq., M.P. for Middlesex, will take the Chair at a Quarter to Seven o'clock.

Brief Addresses will be delivered on Partial Pauperism, Ignorance, Vice and Crime, at Home; Prevalent Superstition, Infidelity, and Idolatry Abroad; and the Paramount Duty, Obvious Means and Glorious Privilege, of striving to overtake and abolish these great evils; by Rev. W. W. Champneys, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's, W.C.; Rev. A. Thomson, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. T. Binney, of Weigh House Chapel, E.C. Rev. W. Edmond, D.D., of Highbury, N.; Rev. W. R. Morison, M.A., of Halifax; Rev. T. Aveling, of Kingsland; Rev. Charles Vince, of Birmingham; Rev. S. Minton, M.A., of Eaton Chapel, S.W.; Rev. Arthur Mursell, of Manchester; Rev. E. E. Jenkins, of Hackney, N.E.; Rev. A. M. Symington, B.A., of Dumfries; Rev. L. Wiseman, of Lambeth S.; Rev. W. Chalmers, M.A., of Paddington, W.; Rev. John Ross, of Hackney, N.E.; and it is expected that the Rev. W. Taylor, late of Australia; John Murdoch, Esq., late of Calcutta; Messrs. Salmon, Williamson, Hill, G. M. Murphy, and other Gentlemen will take part in the proceedings.

The Collection will be made at a Quarter to Nine o'clock.

## NOTICES TO THE PUBLIC.

1. The Doors will be opened at a Quarter to Seven o'clock.  
2. The Organ will be played from half-past Six o'clock, and during the Hymns and Collection.

3. The Working Classes are especially invited, as several Working Men will address the Meeting.

4. Private Carriages and Cabs will wait in Exeter-street.

5. Omnibuses (kindly provided) will wait in the Strand to convey home, free of charge, all showing Tickets, along the following routes:—Bayswater, W.; Paddington, N.W.; Camden town, N.W.; Highbury, N.; Kingsland, N.E.; Hackney, N.E.; Whitechapel, E.; Kennington, S.; Lambeth, S.W.; and Brompton, S.W. They will leave at a Quarter to ten o'clock in the above order.

6. Free Tickets of Admission, available for Omnibuses, may be had at the Office of the Society, 7, Adam-street, Adelphi, W.C.; The Nonconformist Office, 18, Bouvierie-street, E.C.; the Religious Tract Society, 56, Paternoster-row; the Methodist Book Room, 66, Paternoster-row; Mr. J. Snow, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Bagster and Sons, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, Paternoster-row; Mr. S. W. Partridge, Paternoster-row; Mr. G. Stevenson, Paternoster-row; the Methodist New Connexion Book Room, Paternoster-row; Young Men's Christian Association, 165, Aldersgate-street, and Marlborough-street; the Sunday-school Union, 56, Old Bailey, E.C.; and Messrs. J. Nisbet and Co., 21, Berners street; also at numerous Churches and Chapels on Sunday, the 29th of April.

ROBERT G. CATHER, LL.D., General Secretary.

7. Adam-street, Adelphi, W.C., London, April 11, 1866.

The ANNUAL SERMON will (D.V.) be preached in WEIGH-HOUSE CHAPEL by the Rev. ANDREW THOMSON, D.D., of Edinburgh, on TUESDAY EVENING, 1st May, at Seven o'clock. A Collection will be made.

P.S.—It is earnestly requested that Sermons on Systematic Beneficence (without collections) may be preached in as many churches and chapels as possible on Sunday, the 29th of April;

and Tickets for the Meeting, applied for by letter, at 7, Adam-street, W.C., by all ministers who are willing to have them given away to their congregations as they retire shall be promptly forwarded free by post.

## PASTORS' RETIRING FUND.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the PASTORS' RETIRING FUND will be held in the CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY on WEDNESDAY, May 9th, at which all Subscribers of One Guinea and upwards have the power to attend and vote.

The Chair will be taken at Four o'clock p.m.

ROBERT FERGUSON.

Congregational Library, Bloomsbury street,

April 16th, 1866.

## AGED PILGRIMS' FRIEND SOCIETY.

The FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING will be held (D.V.) on MONDAY EVENING April 23rd, at half-past Six o'clock, at the LONDON TAVERN, BISHOPSGATE-STREET,

JAMES ABBISS, Esq., Alderman, in the Chair.

M. MURPHY, Secretary.

Office, 10, Poultry, E.C.

## CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BARKING.

The ANNIVERSARY SERMONS will be preached on TUESDAY, April 24th. In the Afternoon, at Three o'clock, by the Rev. L. D. BEVAN, B.A., of the Weigh House Chapel;

and in the Evening, at Half-past Six o'clock, by the Rev. R. D. WILSON, of Craven Chapel.

Tea will be provided in the Schoolroom at Five o'clock.

Collections will be made in aid of the Building Fund.

Trains for Barking leave Fenchurch-street at 12 7, 2 5, 2 22, 3 22, 4 40, 5 22.

## CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL, LEWIS-HAM, for the EDUCATION of the SONS of MINISTERS.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the above SCHOOL will be held at the CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY, BLOOMSBURY, on TUESDAY, 24th inst., when the Report for the past year will be presented, and Eight Boys will be elected. Chair to be taken by

JOHN REMINGTON MILLS, Esq., M.P., at Eleven o'clock precisely. The Poll will close at Two o'clock.

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The next Term will COMMENCE on MONDAY, April 23rd. Prospectuses can be obtained on application.

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Simultaneously with this undertaking a few gentlemen, whose sympathy with the cause of the industrial classes is undoubted, were seeking, in ignorance of the design of their present colleagues, to establish a cheap representative journal for working men, and in maturing their plan were brought into contact with them. The result of conference between these two parties was a determination to combine their energies, with a view to a complete development of the project, and to this end it was resolved to register the "Industrial Newspaper Company (Limited)," under the "Joint Stock Companies Act, 1862," with a capital of £5,000, in 5,000 Shares of £1 each, and to alter the title of the paper to THE COMMONWEALTH, as being less liable to misconception, and giving indication of a more comprehensive aim than that hitherto adopted.

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# THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT, AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

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## Ecclesiastical Affairs.

### THE IRISH CHURCH DEBATE.

THE Irish Church question is not fortunate. Men who believe in the Protestant Establishment on the other side of St. George's Channel as an institution divinely sanctioned—and such men there are—will discover in the mishaps of the question before Parliament proofs of special Providential interposition, subversive of all attempts to destroy the politico-ecclesiastical anomaly. Certainly, people who rejoice in this conclusion have something to appeal to in support of it. Movements adverse to the State-Church in the sister isle can hardly be considered to have been lucky of late years. This year, at any rate, they have not been so. Parliamentary Reform has smothered a discussion which, however ably and earnestly commenced, could have been continued to no good purpose. A debate on a motion which expressed nothing, pledged nobody, and indicated only that indecision of purpose which is the result of divided counsels, has been adjourned *sine die*, and will probably not be revived during the present session: not, let us hope, in the shape in which it presented itself to the country last week, during the remainder of the present, or in any future, Parliament. There are ways of courting, not defeat, but something far more to be dreaded than defeat, namely, neglect and contempt. The Irish Church question seems to grow scared at the sound of its own voice. There is an influence behind the scenes which mesmerises it. It has got to be afraid to speak out. It falters in its demand. It looks on this side and on that with an air of anxious speculation as to how far it may venture to show itself—and, of course, when it does show itself, its ill-concealed embarrassment deprives it of much of the sympathy which it would otherwise obtain.

The abolition of the Irish Church Establishment, or, in other words, the deposition of that Church from its political *status* of ascendancy, and the withdrawal from it of political support, will not be effected, nay, we think we may say, will not be promoted, by such colourless resolutions as that submitted to the House of Commons on Tuesday evening, far less by such speeches as that of the Irish Secretary. We know not at whose instance the terms of Sir J. Gray's motion were changed. As they originally stood they had in them a ring of spirit which roused the life of Liberalism at once; as they were finally presented to the House, they skulked like a dog with his tail between his legs. If the alteration was submitted to by Sir J. Gray in order to gain a stirring and helpful speech from Mr. Chichester Fortescue, it was a tactical blunder; if, as was suggested by the Opposition, to please Archbishop Cullen, it was still more to be deplored. Even if the ultimate object of the change was to gain a majority on a division, it strikes us as indicative of a very shortsighted policy. The Irish Church, we repeat, will not be put down in this spirit. Your Chichester Fortescues are not destined

to settle it. It will have to be grappled with by the common feeling of the English people in favour of justice, and by earnest religious instincts, if it is to be handled to any purpose. Not they who cannot be brought to affirm that "the Irish Church Establishment is a grievous wrong," and who can only make up their minds after much hesitation to assert that "the position of the Established Church in Ireland is a just cause of dissatisfaction to the people of the country"—not *they*, we make bold to predict, will carry on this question to, or even towards, its ultimate settlement. When will politicians learn that religious questions admit of no satisfactory compromise? We have no hesitation in stating our belief that if any serious importance were attached to the declaration of the Irish Secretary as likely to affect the future settlement of this gravest of modern questions, the interest now felt in a legislative solution of the problem, at least on this side the water, would be paralysed for ten years to come.

What was that declaration? We will give it in the right hon. gentleman's own words. "The Irish Established Church should make up its mind to part with a certain portion of its endowments, and depend to a certain degree—as so many other Churches already do, and as indeed every Church that has ever existed when in a small minority, and when not protected and sustained by some external power, must do—upon the voluntary contributions, and the zeal and attachment of its own adherents. Such a course of proceeding would enable the State to obtain a very considerable fund, which, to my mind, should not be diverted from those religious purposes and uses to which the piety of earlier times set it apart, but which would form a substantial assistance and benefit to that great disendowed Church of the majority in Ireland. That substantial assistance and benefit to be drawn from the religious and ecclesiastical funds of the Irish nation itself—which I take to be the real morality of the case—ought not, I should say, to be given in the shape of payments to individual clergymen of the Roman Catholic Church, so as in any way to put them in the position of what are sometimes called pensioners of the State, but should be placed in the hands of some body fairly representing the Roman Catholic Church as a whole, to be used as they should think best for the benefit of their Church." We have purposely placed this foreshadowing of Liberal policy on record, that we may refer to it on future occasions, and that we may now, at once, and without any reserve whatever, pledge ourselves to the active use of whatever constitutional means may be at our command to prevent any such despicable compromise of the matter. We take our stand with the mover of the resolutions who "repudiated the idea that one sixpence (of the revenues now allocated to the Establishment) ought to go to the Catholic Church"—and with The O'Donoghue, who in a still more emphatic manner said—"The ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland are the property of the Irish nation, in bar of whose right no Statute of Limitations can be pleaded, and they are applied to purposes which cannot be called national in any true, liberal, or honest acceptance of that term. . . . In my judgment, the only way in which the question can be settled is by placing all Her Majesty's subjects, irrespective of their number or of their creed, upon a footing of the most perfect equality, and it is clear that this can only be done by gradually doing away with all State endowments for religious purposes."

We regret most deeply the speech of the Irish Secretary. It will do infinite mischief to the cause he professed his individual readiness to support. Religious equality cannot be reached in this country of discordant sects, and, let us add, of sincere and conscientious religionists, by indiscriminate endowments. There are myriads upon myriads of men who are anxious to relieve the Catholics, whether of Ireland or elsewhere, of the injustice done them by a Protestant State Church, who nevertheless, will contend to the last against nationally endowing a form of faith which they repudiate. Mr. Fortescue, and such as he, do but delay the settlement which they seem so intent upon effecting. The ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland are regarded, for

sooth, as a fund "which should not be diverted from those religious purposes and uses to which the piety of earlier times set it apart." Bah! we grow sick of this cant, especially in the mouths of young statesmen. Why, it is not long since that Parliament "diverted" twenty-five per cent. of this fund into the pockets of the Irish landlords, and if the remaining seventy-five per cent. can be appropriated as to benefit the whole people of Ireland we do not know what there was in "the piety of earlier times" to prevent its being done. The real fact is, that disendowment in Ireland would be regarded as showing the way towards disendowment in England. Men of the Irish Secretary's stamp do not like to say so—and hence they take up with claptrap, and devise clever but worthless compromises.

### ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

SIDE by side with the debate on the Irish Church last Monday, there appears an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the same subject. The article is significant for many reasons. The writer commences by laying the fault of that Church's present position on her own shoulders, attributing it mainly to her negligence in religious duty, and her illiberal Tory spirit. A review of her present position follows, but the writer brings out no facts that are not already familiar to the public. The defences are next examined, and the argument of the right of Parliament to deal in any manner that it may please with Church property is very ably sustained. We are glad to find the author dealing especially with one fallacy, namely, that as tithe is now a landlords' tax, and as ninety per cent. of the land is the property of Protestant landlords, it is clear that the Establishment is supported by Protestants. He correctly says that this argument displays a remarkable ignorance of the first principles of political economy. Tithes, he says, operate as an addition to the price of raw produce, and, like all other taxes, must be paid by consumers—that is, by the country in general. This is expanded in the following passage, where, also, the distinction between ecclesiastical property and private property is very clearly drawn:—

They increase in amount according as cultivation is extended, and according as the difficulty of raising raw produce increases, and are more burdensome in a year of scarcity than in a year of plenty. It is urged that tithe rent-charge is a composition for tithe, and is of the nature of a reserved rent, which never belonged to either landlord or tenant. This definition makes no account of the well-known fact that the landlord's tax is recovered from the tenant in the form of a higher rent, that a higher rent implies a higher price for produce, and that the eventual incidence of the tax must thus be upon the consumers of produce. No doubt tithes are very correctly described as neither landlords' nor tenants' property. But it is perfectly ridiculous to talk of Church property being as inviolable as private property, and of the title of the bishops to their lands being as good as that of dukes and earls to their vast estates; for there is surely an important difference between trust property whose application is regulated by Act of Parliament, and property granted absolutely to individuals and their heirs for ever to do with it as they think proper. Besides, all parties recognise the right of the State to redistribute the revenues of the bishops and clergy, but there can be no recognition of a similar right on the part of the State to redistribute the wealth of several hundred landed proprietors. We are seriously warned against laying a sacrilegious hand upon the patrimony of the Church, inasmuch as a large portion of her present endowments is derived from the munificence of private individuals. This argument would have applied with equal force to the transfer of Church property from the Catholics to the Protestants at the Reformation, for all the private and testamentary property passed over into the hands of the Protestant, together with the tithes and glebe-lands. There is, however, an important element of difference in the case. Henry VIII. displaced the old hierarchy without making the slightest compensation to either bishops or clergy for the loss of their incomes. Modern legislation will deal more fairly with the members of disendowed establishments.

The "Act of Union" argument is next disposed of. This portion of the paper concludes with a

general statement of conviction that the State would not lose by the disendowment of the Church. It is considered that the Church has often endangered the stability of British rule. Its endowment, it is argued, is not necessary to the maintenance of Protestantism, and even in case of total disendowment, it is shown that the members of the Church, "in common with other denominations," would be able to make a respectable and independent provision for their own clergy.

The whole of this portion of the article points conclusively to a total disendowment, and the writer acknowledges that if the principles of political justice were allowed to regulate the decision of this question, there could be no alternative between the endowment of all and the endowment of none; but he is of opinion that other principles, partly political and partly theoretical, must control the ultimate settlement. A sweeping reform and reduction is therefore proposed. It is proposed that the archbishops should be reduced from two to one, and the bishops from ten to four; that the income of the former should be fixed at 5,000*l.*, and of the latter at 3,000*l.* each. This would save upwards of 38,000*l.* A similar reduction and saving is proposed in the case of the lower dignitaries. The benefices should be reduced from 1,510 in number to 1,000, and the ministers, of course, in the same proportion. Here would be a saving of nearly 100,000*l.* Besides this, it is proposed to appropriate the whole of the revenues of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and to throw the expenses of worship on the congregations. The result would be that about one-half the present revenues of the Church would be resumed by the State for other purposes.

The next question is, what is to be done with this money? In answer to this inquiry, it is first held that in the face of the opposition of the English and Scotch Voluntaries, it would be impossible to carry any scheme for the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church. After reviewing other proposals, the writer comes to the conclusion that the best thing that could be done with the money would be to establish middle-class schools. This idea is enlarged, and the article concludes with a sharp attack on those ecclesiastics who would keep things as they are, and who have once more raised the cry of the *Church in Danger*:— "A cry that was never uttered by any voice however feeble or for any object however base, without being caught up in all the dark nooks where bigotry nestles with corruption—but the time is now past for that peculiar species of strategy which consists in boldly and persistently ignoring all the anomalies, abuses, and defects of an institution. People of this class are blind to all the indications of public opinion—gathering force year by year against them—and they may well spare us that pamphleteering scurrility which is the last resource of a party which cannot answer and will not submit."

We have given considerable space to a summary of the contents of this article, and we have done so because we believe that it fairly indicates the opinions of a very large class of influential politicians, both of the old Whig and the moderate Liberal schools. These see that it is impossible that the Church should remain in its present position; they recognise the justice of total disendowment; they fully adhere to the Constitutional doctrine of the nature of Church property and the power of Parliament over its disposal; they see plainly the tendency of the age towards complete religious equality; and if they had the strength to do it, they would propose the total disestablishment of the Church. Not having that strength they will consent to what, in their judgment, is the next best thing. They will reform its abuses and reduce its dimensions and its power. On the old and common principle that in practical politics nothing is possible but compromise, they would propose such a scheme with confidence. They forget one thing, however, viz., that compromises are becoming more and more distasteful, and that voluntaries especially are not accustomed and are not likely to listen to them. We can wait and make a compromise impossible, and we shall no doubt have, as we have had in England, the assistance of all bigoted Churchmen to aid us.

And so Lord Derby gave his unqualified consent on Monday night to the second reading of the Roman Catholic Oaths Bill. In doing so the noble speaker remarked on the tendency to which we have just adverted, and endeavoured to explain away the offensive allusions contained in his speech of last year. We must do Lord Derby the justice to say that his recantation was complete, and that it was made with a grace which added to its value. No

one thought proper to exhume his speech of last year, and, as the question is now virtually settled, we have no inclination to do it. We will only say that we do not for a moment suppose that Lord Derby, in consenting to this measure, has made any advance either in sentiment or in principle. He has discovered that his former course was a political blunder, and he is anxious to retrieve the effects of that blunder before the second reading of the Reform Bill. Another word before we dismiss the subject. The Marquis of Westmeath stated, and stated correctly, that he had presented 400 petitions against the Bill, and we regret to add that most of these petitions were, we believe, from Protestant Dissenting congregations. This, at any rate, was the case with those sent up to the House of Commons. Some hundreds of Baptist and Congregational churches have suffered themselves to be made, in this matter, the cat's paw of the Protestant Institute. They have been made to believe that if the Bill should pass a Roman Catholic prince might legally sit on the throne of England, and, in terror of such a catastrophe, they have, in some alarm, petitioned both Houses of Parliament against it. It ought not to be necessary, in these days of popular histories and daily newspapers, to expose such a gross and ignorant fallacy. The succession to the Throne is fixed, not by any oath of the members of the Legislature, but by the Act of Settlement, not one word of which is disturbed by this measure. What is disturbed by it is religious distinction and the nominal supremacy of the Protestant Established Church.

We attended, yesterday afternoon, the general meeting of the Church Institution at St. James's Hall, and were curious to hear what would be said on this, amongst other subjects. For the Oaths Bill is one of the measures which the Institution had selected for attack, and in its last report it was stated that the committee had petitioned that, if a new oath were framed, the clause for the protection of the Church of England might be re-inserted. We arrived at St. James's Hall just as the Archbishop of Canterbury took the chair. His Grace looked round, and looked backwards and forwards at the empty benches just as Mr. Disraeli looked when he entered the House of Commons on the day that the Church-rate Abolition Bill of the present year was read a second time. There were thirty-five persons on the large platform, no one in the galleries, and just one hundred and twenty-seven persons in the body of the hall. The meeting was exceedingly tame and spiritless, and had it not been for the Liberation Society, there would have been scarcely anything to talk about. The Archbishop, after a graceful allusion to the painful death of the founder of the Institution, Mr. Henry Hoare, at once touched on the activity and energy of this "great Society," and enlarged on the necessity of counteracting its work. The Archbishop of Armagh, who followed, broke down in his speech, after five minutes, and gave it up, but was recalled by the meeting, and then very honestly read most of what he had to say. He confined himself almost exclusively to the condition of the Irish Church in the reign of Elizabeth. The Duke of Marlborough spoke next. His speech was an harangue against the Liberation Society. He said that although that body might have been despised once it could not be despised now. He called attention to its power, activity, and earnestness, to the religious motive by which its members were actuated, and to its design of upsetting "the Government and Constitution." Mr. Napier and Mr. Beresford Hope followed. Mr. Hope candidly remarked that the Church Institution left the philosophical discussion of the Church Establishment question to Mr. Miall: they were content to say that they defended the Church because they liked it. Mr. Hubbard followed. And is this all? This is all. Was there no reference to the present state of ecclesiastical questions? Not one. The Church-rate Bill was indeed alluded to twice—once when the Archbishop was stating what the Institution had done, but with characteristic astuteness his Grace stopped his retrospect at the year 1863—and once when Mr. Beresford Hope incidentally remarked that there was a division of opinion on this question amongst the members. The opinion of this body on any of the questions now before Parliament, or its policy with respect to them, did not receive a single reference. The meeting might have been held in 1863. We need not comment on the significance of this silence.

Another meeting on the Psalmedy question has been held in Scotland. This time the subject was taken up by the Free Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. A resolution was moved in favour of an addition to the Church's service of praise of a limited number of standard hymns. The supporter of this resolution

reminded the Presbytery that they could not even sing such a hymn as

O for a closer walk with God.

in any of their churches, and that the Psalms did not express Christian objects and Christian truths. All the important Evangelical Churches, said the mover, Mr. Walker, had hymns, and he "thought there was nothing in Scripture against their use." Professor Douglas supported the measure, remarking that all that was wanted was that the Free Church should have the liberty of using a certain number of hymns as they now had of singing a certain number of paraphrases. A keen discussion followed. The motion was opposed on the ground that none but inspired psalms should be sung in the Churches, and the authority of the Confession of Faith, which all had sworn to obey, was quoted against the motion. It was also urged that if the proposed twenty-five hymns were placed alongside the psalms, the sufficiency of Holy Scripture would be endangered. The motion was rejected by thirty-four to thirty-three. Our correspondents of last week evidently wrote without reading the Edinburgh debate, and one of them with an insufficient knowledge of the history of Scotch Psalmody. It is quite true, as every one knows, that there are a few paraphrases and hymns added to the psalms in the usual printed copy of Scotch Psalmody, but these additions have never been sanctioned by the Assembly, nor have they passed the "Barrier Act." It is now sought to add twenty-five hymns to the *Psalms*. According to the order of the Scotch Church, there are no hymns now added to the Paraphrases. Our friends—Scotchmen though they are—will find that we are right: and the Edinburgh and Glasgow Presbyteries of the Free Church *ought* to know their position in this respect.

One item of news by the last Jamaica mail is of peculiar significance and interest. The Baptists had asked if the Government had any objection to the establishment of a Baptist church at Montego Bay, where the riot reigned, but where there had hitherto been no Baptist church. Sir Henry Storks replied, that not only would there be no objection, but that the Government would be happy to make a grant to the church. This, of course, was declined, but Sir Henry Storks' reply fully indicates his opinion in reference to the charge of exciting rebellion brought against the Baptist churches of Jamaica. He has seen and heard what they are and what they have done, and as her Majesty's representative would be glad to add to their number. This fact is a sufficient answer to all the passionate abuse and insinuation of Governor Eyre.

#### THE MODEL MISSION.

(Conclusion.)

As the time is so near at hand when all the space available will be required for the accounts of the May meetings, it may be as well to concentrate the remaining remarks in reference to mission work into the present paper, leaving those interested in the theme to elaborate the simple statements for themselves.

The numerous methods of laying hold of the people already adduced by no means exhaust the store. The late John Angell James, at a conference on home missions held in 1858 at Birmingham, hit the right nail on the head when he suggested that in every town or neighbourhood of any large dimensions the Christian community should have one man of undoubted probity, and armed with general intelligence, whose duty it should be to take note of all passing occurrences of interest, whether of a social, moral, or political character, the Christian bearings and aspects of the locality, &c., taking such public notice thereof as might be deemed advisable on consultation with the friends of the movement. Such an agent would be of incalculable advantage to any locality, but he would especially further the interests of the Church at large, and wherever the Model Mission may be found, it will do wisely to secure the service of such a man.

On him might devolve in a considerable degree the duty of arranging for popular lectures, temperance meetings, musical and eloquentary entertainments, instructive and interesting displays of useful, beautiful, or curious objects, such as those which have been so successful at Mr. Baldwin Brown's (Claylands Chapel), or collections of articles made by the working men themselves, similar in character to the late South London Working Classes' Industrial Exhibitions, which have been so widely imitated. He should know how to work an air-pump, manipulate a magic-lantern, and not tremble if solicited to adjust the lenses or the object glass of a microscope. He should know as much of law as would enable him to prevent neighbours getting at loggerheads, and be sufficiently skilled in medical knowledge to ensure his giving a simple remedy for a common disorder, whether for children or adults.

The question will here be asked, But where are such

men to be found? Our reply is, that the men are attainable if they are sought for. In the Christian, as in the scientific world, men are to be had for special posts, when the special function is required, and it would be wisest in the end to employ paid agents, rather than to trust the loftiest human interests to the incompetent or unwise.

The daring engineering flights of the day are accomplished, not by the rude rush of indiscriminate workers, but by a wise selection of men whose special characteristics have been marked and noted down by superintendents and foremen during many years, and when an emergency arises for the accomplishment of some great undertaking, England—aye, and the world, it may be—is traversed to find the proper workmen. And the Church of Christ has something more difficult to accomplish than the most daring feat of mechanical skill, and if she be wise, she will never be satisfied until she has sought for and found men of large hearts and deep sympathies who shall fulfil the Scripture injunction of being "wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

There are two methods of reaching the people recently adopted with no small amount of success, the first directly religious, the other as directly secular in its character. The former is the plan of selecting a number of converted men of different callings, to deliver addresses to their fellow-workmen; of course the addresses thus delivered are but short, but some of them exceedingly convincing and powerful. The *Nonconformist* news columns last week had a brief notice of such an assembly at the old Huguenot Sanctuary in Orange-street, Leicester-square, at which I happened to be present. The service commenced at half-past eight, and the chapel was filled above and below. Such a congregation had not gathered there for a long time. After the opening hymn, the chairman read *Isaiah xxxv.*; another hymn was sung; a navvy employed on the Thames Embankment then prayed; and subsequently four men of the same occupation addressed the assembly, giving an account of their conversion and present happiness in the most touching terms, the eyes of many being bathed in tears, and the hearts of several, I doubt not, forcibly touched. Between each address a hymn was sung, and the whole service was of the liveliest and happiest possible Christian character, entirely free from bombast or burlesque. The prayer of the pastor brought the meeting to a close. He afterwards received the congratulations of many of his congregation who had laboured and prayed that something might be done to reach the poor people of the neighbourhood, and this seemed to be indeed an answer to their prayer. Like successes have followed similar services in other places.

The latter plan is of a secular character, and is calculated to develop the latent musical talent of the church and congregation, and sometimes of an entire neighbourhood. The last effort of this kind which I witnessed was on the blustery night that sank the *Palmerston* saloon steamship. But notwithstanding the bitterness of the night, considerably over a thousand poor persons had turned out to enjoy the "Catch Concert," as it was called. The conductor, after a short address on musical instruments in general, asked the persons present who were about to offer their services to send their names up on slips of paper, which was done, and during the evening we were entertained with performances on a clarinet, two concertinas, a cornet, a whistle, two violins, a tambourine, a flute, and a harp. At the close of the musical performance the conductor urged, as a lesson to be drawn from the evening's enjoyment, the possibility of the people helping themselves to a purer and loftier style of entertainment than that provided at the music-halls and other questionable entertainments of the day.

We now need say little more than this, that whatever of Christian work we may seem to have omitted, is not overlooked by the Model Mission. It sympathises with all that is worthy and legitimate in the warfare against the world, the flesh, and the devil—Bible-selling, tract-distributing, sick-visiting, pledge-signing, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, reclaiming the outcast, visiting the prisoner and the parish poor, educating the ignorant, preaching by the highwayside on Sabbath and on week-day, countering what is vicious; and every other holy, healthy agency is helped and strengthened by its aid. It does not shudder at the name of political Nonconformity, and stand idle while Satan's henchmen are seeking to shape the laws and fashions of the world. It has a great love for peace, but a greater love for purity, whether it be for the governing of the Church or of the world.

In anything I have written in these papers, be it understood, I cannot be charged with merely urging impracticable theories. All that has been advocated has been tried, and tried with success. There is lying before me a list, showing that, since 1858, upwards of 110 members, the full half of whom are men, have been added to one communion as the result of similar instrumentalities, while considerable numbers have attached themselves to other churches in the neighbourhood, and not a few are working for God as they have opportunity. Of course in this, as in every other good work, much advantage has been gained short of absolute conversion, and very much good accomplished that will never be known on earth. We can hardly expect, however, that all the methods advanced will command themselves to the judgment of every reader, and it is just possible that a few may think they could show a

more excellent way; to such I say, if you cannot work in our way, work in your own, and if you have found a more congenial method whereby you can uproot evil and establish truth, for the sake of the world lying in wickedness, let us have the plan, and give it a trial. And if any should shrink, from the ideas advanced because of the almost ceaseless activity it would demand to carry them out, I say, Doubtless the task is not one for idlers to undertake; but the honour of God, the glory of the Gospel, the prosperity of the Church, and the eternal well-being of immortal souls is in question; and if considerations such as these do not impel to holy energy and self-denying labour, then the arresting of the world's iniquity must be left to a future age, and to nobler and mightier men. But if, on the contrary, each for himself determines to strike for God and goodness in any and in every way, we shall soon see the dawning of that happy day, when "the wilderness shall become as the fruitful field, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

#### MONITUS.

#### LIBERATION SOCIETY MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

THE APPROACHING ANNUAL MEETINGS.—That these will be looked forward to with unusual interest, we have no doubt. The Executive Committee have much to report, for the year has been an eventful one in the Society's history. They will have successes to chronicle, as well as laborious efforts, and they will be able to point to indications of public feeling which are even more valuable than any direct results already achieved. The past, present, and the future, therefore, will combine to give zest to the feelings with which the approaching anniversary will be anticipated by the Society's many friends. The first Wednesday in May—the 2nd—will, as usual, be the day on which the Council will meet, and on which the more public gathering of the Society's friends will take place. The Council will meet in the afternoon, and to it will be presented the report of the Executive Committee. To that body also will belong the right of expressing such opinions on the past and proposed policy of the Committee as will, to a large extent, determine their action during the next twelve months. We hope that our country friends, who are members of the Council, will take note of the date, that they may, as far as possible, arrange to visit the metropolis in order to be present. It has been resolved that, in lieu of a *soirée*, a public meeting of the ordinary character shall be held at night, and that it shall be held at the Hanover-square Rooms. This has been determined upon in consequence of the expectation that the attendance will be too large to make it possible to provide satisfactorily for the tea which has, of late years, preceded the meeting. It is an alteration which will probably be regretted by some, but which will, we believe, tend to increase the effectiveness of the meeting. At the time we write, the arrangements for the meeting are not complete, but we have the gratification of stating that the following gentlemen have already engaged to take part in the proceedings:—H. E. Crum Ewing, Esq., M.P., T. Barnes, Esq., M.P., Rev. David King, D.D., of Westbourne-park; Rev. J. G. Rogers, of Clapham; Charles Reed, Esq., Rev. Chas. H. Spurgeon, Rev. Mark Wilks, of Holloway, and other gentlemen. Another fact of importance in connection with this meeting has to be added, and that is, that admission will be obtained by tickets, and that, although the issue of tickets will not be confined to the Society's subscribers, their applications will have preference. Those of our friends, therefore, who intend to be present, should acquaint the secretary with the fact, and state the number of tickets they require.—*Liberator*.

BRISTOL.—On Wednesday last the Bristol course of lectures was delivered by the Rev. J. C. Geikie, of Sunderland, whose topic was, "Reasons why Churchmen should desire a dissolution of the union between Church and State." E. S. Robinson, Esq., who presided, said that the plan hitherto adopted by the Liberation Society in Bristol had been to hold annual meetings, at each of which many speakers delivered addresses upon the subject; but this year it had been decided to adopt a different mode. The Liberation Society had secured the services of gentlemen well informed upon the subject, and qualified to address an audience upon the specific principle of the Society, taking it in its separate phases, considering the subjects relating to it *seriatim*, and arguing in reference to these subjects, rather than speaking generally, and using arguments that bore upon the relations between Church and State. It was thought that this was a mode by which the principles and objects of the Society might be better explained and enforced. The lecture is described as having been a very able one, and was much applauded.

LEEK.—On the 9th inst. a lecture on the "Religious objections to the union of Church and State," was delivered in the Temperance Hall by the Rev. Thos.

Davies, of Darwen. The hall was crowded with an audience which comprised a large number of the more respectable inhabitants of the town; but it also included some forty or fifty persons who had evidently come to the meeting for the simple purpose of creating a disturbance, and who had primed themselves with intoxicating drink. Mr. Joshua Nicholson, a staunch friend of the society, occupied the chair. His opening address was met by interruptions, which gradually swelled into deafening roar. The lecturer obtained a hearing at intervals, which were followed by periods of rude and noisy interruption. At his request the audience were asked to signify whether they wished to hear the lecture out or not, when nine-tenths of the meeting held up their hands with cheers. It was said that the disturbers were acting under the direction of a gentleman (?) who has sufficient ability and education to fit him for a worthier occupation; but, like other renegades, he is anxious to display his zeal in the cause which he has espoused, and does so by methods which bring to it only damage and disgrace. A vote of thanks to the lecturer was moved by the Rev. J. Hankinson, and seconded by J. Alsop, Esq., J.P. One of those who had been conspicuous as one of the opposition addressed the meeting, and said that the lecture contained no argument; but the only point in it to which he adverted was the lecturer's pronunciation of the word "premunire," which he said was an old French law term, and should be pronounced "premuner"!! The vote of thanks was carried with cheers by a majority of about nine-tenths. The friends of the society, while regretting the conduct of some of their fellow-townsmen, feel sure that the effect of the meeting will be to advance the cause of religious freedom.—*From a Correspondent*.

CARDIFF.—The seventh lecture of the course now being delivered in Cardiff was given by Mr. Bailey on the 8th inst., his subject being, "Sufferings and Sacrifices for Conscience' Sake." Mr. Bailey entered into the question of persecution, and gave some thrilling anecdotes in illustration of the sufferings for conscience' sake during the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, and Charles. The great lesson taught by the lecture was that all the sacrifices and persecutions were the result of the union of Church and State. He contended earnestly for the liberation of religion from all State patronage and control, and concluded an interesting lecture amidst great applause.—*Cardiff Times*, April 13, 1866.

THE MAYOR OF CAMBRIDGE AND THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.—The Mayor of Cambridge has returned the following reply to an application for the use of the small Assembly Room for a *soirée* of the Liberation Society:—"April 10, 1866. Dear Sir,—I am exceedingly sorry to be placed in the position of feeling obliged to refuse your request for the use of the Guildhall. I presume from your asking the use of it (there being other rooms in the town equally available), that the object of your society (the Liberation) will in your views be promoted by it. The object of the society is, as I understand, to weaken the Church in its present relations to the State, and as the Guildhall can only be used by my authority, if words mean anything, I should be acting contrary to the declaration I made on taking office if I exercised that authority to advance the society in question, whose claims you advocate. I beg you to believe that it is only in the full persuasion that I am acting as I conceive I am bound to do in refusing its use for your purpose, and am, your's faithfully,—SWAN HURSTON, Mayor." The room in question has before now been let to the Liberation Society. Remarking on the Mayor's plea, Mr. Whibley, the local secretary, in a letter to the *Cambridge Independent Press*, says:—"I think, sir, you will agree with me that if the Mayor is correct in his interpretation of the declaration made by him on taking office, that we do not require any stronger argument in favour of Mr. Hadfield's Qualification for Offices Bill, which, mainly through the instrumentality of the Liberation Society, has for the fifth time been carried through the House of Commons, and is now awaiting the decision of the Lords. Surely even they, in the exercise of their hereditary wisdom, will not again by the rejection of the bill declare that public buildings, erected and maintained by the ratepayers generally, shall not be available for the use of one half the nation for all lawful purposes." The intended meeting is to be held in the Independent chapel, and Mr. Carvell Williams and the Rev. J. G. Rogers have gone down to attend it.

#### THE TOWN COUNCIL OF NEWCASTLE AND SECTARIAN GRANTS.

At the meeting of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Town Council on Wednesday last, a deputation was introduced, consisting of the Revs. W. Walters, J. H. Rutherford, and Robert Brown, and Messrs. Henry Sinclair and John Bradburn.

The Rev. Mr. WALTERS said that they were a deputation from the local committee of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, and he had been requested to present to the Council a petition with reference to their giving donations and subscriptions to new churches and schools.

The TOWN CLERK then read the following memorandum:—

To the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors of the Borough of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in Council assembled. The memorial of the Local Committee of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, Respectfully sheweth,—That the Municipal Reform

Act, under which your worshipful Council hold your seals, is based upon the principles of civil and religious equality, and that the burgesses of Newcastle, in the exercise of those rights which the Municipal Act have secured to them, have elected to the Council men of various churches—Established and Free—who, your memorialists gratefully acknowledge, have in general "well and quietly governed" the borough. That your memorialists—being themselves burgesses—however, have reason to complain of your worshipful Council for granting, on the 10th of January, 1866, 50/- towards the restoration of Walker Church; and this notwithstanding that the Finance Committee declined to recommend any grant of the kind, and notwithstanding the fact that no such grants have been made since a similar grant was decisively refused, on the 5th May, 1864, to the new church at Gateshead. That your memorialists are concerned to see that proposals for similar grants—one of 10/- to the St. John's National School; another to the new church for Howdon and Willington Quay—are now awaiting the decision of your worshipful Council. That your memorialists are of opinion that these grants virtually impose a Church-rate upon the burgesses; commit alike the Council and their constituents to the admission of the principle of a compulsory Church Establishment; and, they respectfully submit, violate the express injunction and pervading spirit of the Municipal Reform Act, which, after making provision for the ordinary exigencies of the borough, explicitly enacts that, "in case the borough fund shall be more than sufficient for the purpose aforesaid, the surplus thereof shall be applied, under the direction of the Council, for the public benefit of the inhabitants and improvement of the borough." That, supposing it were desired to make grants to all religious bodies impartially, such a course would be utterly impracticable, for the fundamental principles of some would prevent their receiving, much more their asking, such aid; and your memorialists earnestly pray that the practice may be discontinued, and the borough's fund confined to the public benefit of the inhabitants, irrespective of their several religious creeds, which ought neither to make them objects of preference nor disfavour with their municipal representatives. Signed on behalf of the committee, WILLIAM WALTERS, Chairman.

The deputation then withdrew. Mr. MORISON asked if any discussion were to take place on the memorial. Mr. GEORGE FOSTER thought it would be much better not to open the discussion until Alderman BELL made the motions of which he had given notice. Mr. MORISON said that, in order that the memorial should not fall a dead letter, he would move that it be referred to the Finance Committee, and that the committee should report upon it. The SHERIFFS seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The Newcastle local committee of the Liberation Society are thus wisely following the course so long pursued by the Newcastle and Gateshead Religious Freedom Society, an example that may with effect be imitated by our friends generally in the defence and promotion of our principles.

#### OXFORD AND ITS TESTS AND OATH.

(From the *Manchester Examiner*.)

In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred when Oxford is spoken of in an assembly of Englishmen, the idea which is called up by the mention of the name, is that of a corporation wealthy and powerful, clinging to the past with all its traditions, sneering at the present, and given over wholly and entirely to the ecclesiastical and political superstitions which prevailed among the Cavaliers of the time of Charles I. In fact, it has been generally looked upon as a place of fashionable resort, where the tone was given to "society" rather than any encouragement was afforded to learning. It was "the thing" for wealthy people and persons of position to send their sons to Oxford, but beyond this there was hardly in the public estimation any use to which Oxford could be applied. It was a retreat for dignified and well-read ecclesiastics, who had nothing to do and were well paid for doing it. It was a little world where young men, sons of wealthy parents, might make companions, learn the mysteries of boating and cricket, pass the necessary ordeal previous to being "japanned," as taking orders was called, and receive the degree of Master of Arts, after passing through a certain curriculum. The eminent men who had passed through the University were believed to have become illustrious in spite of her treatment of them, and not by her assistance. It was an accident which turned them thitherwards. They would have been famous under the tuition of a hedge schoolmaster, and Oxford received a borrowed lustre from the fame which was not hers. Whether this was a correct view or not, it was undoubtedly that of the public, and beyond all question it is a matter for surprise that Oxford should be a hotbed of Toryism, intolerance, and bigotry. In spite of the liberalising tendency of a classical education, Oxford men in the mass were narrow and bigoted, almost to the verge of superstition. We never heard of her taking part in any of the great political, ecclesiastical, or educational movements of the day. She was content to repose in fancied security, sleeping in the monastic atmosphere of the middle ages, receiving her enormous endowments, spending them according to her own fancies, and accepting with unbounded faith her position as the universal head of the religion and education of the country.

Perhaps the first thing which really awoke her from her reveries was the Tractarian movement. In a previous century Wesley had rudely dispelled some of her illusions; nor were there wanting other protests against the endowed apathy of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but still when the excitement had passed away these great institutions again dropped into slumber, and again failed to recognise their duties as leaders of the intellect and education

of the nation. Wesley's rebellion, as it might be called, against the settled inertness of the university, occasioned a movement to emancipate the minds of men from ecclesiasticism. It was the vital, active, popular principle of religion that he aimed to encourage, and which he was the means of disseminating throughout the country and throughout the world. Whatever, however, he did for religion—and that man must be blind who does not recognise the enormous good which he accomplished—he gave a fatal blow to the religion of the priest. He brought to millions the conviction that they could get to heaven without the aid of a episcopally ordained minister, and so deeply had the belief struck into the public mind that the Church, as a national institution, was completely waning away. Dr. Pusey, at Oxford, took precisely the opposite course to that pursued by Wesley. He endeavoured to restore the national faith in the efficacy and efficiency of a national priesthood; and whether he has succeeded or not, he has unquestionably been instrumental in imbuing his followers with great earnestness, and with no small amount of activity. He has given the Church of Rome a lift in this country whatever service, he has done to the Church of England. But he has done more than this, for he has, as old Ridley said at the stake in Oxford, lighted a candle which will never be extinguished in the national seat of learning. It is certainly to Dr. Pusey and his colleagues that we are indebted for those discussions which have brought the wants, the shortcomings, the weaknesses, the failings, and the inconsistencies of Oxford to the tribunal of public opinion. Once that the weakness of her assumed ecclesiastical position and influence was discovered, and it was impossible to stop discussions on other parts of her policy. All her statutes have been overhauled, her tests and oaths have been questioned, even her culinary arrangements have been objected to, and we may depend upon it that there will be no intermission of this public agitation until Oxford is made strictly national and representative in a religious, political, and educational sense.

It is much to the credit of Oxford that she herself furnishes the reformers who desire to see her brought within the compass of the influences of the day. Dr. Temple, of Rugby, Dr. Sedgwick, and Mr. Broderick, who attended Manchester last week as a deputation from Oxford, show how widely spread is the feeling which would make the University a thoroughly national institution. They go so far as to say that originally the corporation was not ecclesiastical at all, but lay in its constitution, and Dr. Sedgwick adds that, if it had not been so, it certainly ought to have been. Mr. Broderick, of Merton College, demands what he calls free trade in University education. As a Churchman, he contends that no man ought to be required to sign any religious test when he comes to the University, and he strongly urges that Oxford should be constituted as a national institution in every sense of the term. Dr. Temple declares that the Nonconformists would receive a hearty welcome at Oxford, and he asks that they should be admitted to all the privileges which have hitherto been confined to Churchmen alone. It was, he said, because he believed Oxford to be so excellent that he would have no Englishman excluded from the cultivation which she could give. It was because he loved England so deeply that he could not bear that what he thought was so good should be shut out from any Englishman. These are sentiments which do the highest honour to the gentlemen who hold them, and they indicate far more than anything which Dr. Pusey or his followers have done in what direction public thought is tending. Dr. Temple is certain that when the Nonconformists are admitted to Oxford on a perfect equality, they would look upon the Church of England with affection and esteem, and it is quite certain that the Church of England would learn to respect the feelings and the consciences of Nonconformists, if she did not eventually admire and love their principles. This, however, though not directly a question of Church and State, of Nonconformity and Church-of-Englandism, must in the end trench upon those influences which have so long divided the Protestant religious communities into classes. They are tending to the abolition of all religious tests as a preliminary to any advantage which is placed at the service of the nation. They are further hastening the advent of a National Church to which voluntary adhesion will be the sole governing principle, and they are furthermore tending towards the abolition of those controversies which have so long kept asunder so much that was holy, excellent, and pure in the religion of the nation.

#### WEST RIDING HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY AND CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

The annual meeting in connection with these societies commenced in Leeds on Monday, April 19, in Queen-street Chapel. In the afternoon, meetings of the Independent Provident Society and of the Executive Committee of the Home Missionary Society and of the Union were held. At a service held in the evening an address on "Science and Prayer" was delivered by the Rev. James Rae, B.A., of Batley; and a second address by the Rev. J. S. Eastmead, of Wakefield, on "Jesus Praying."

The meeting of the Union was continued on Tuesday in the same chapel.

The Rev. DAVID JONES, of Booth, occupied the chair, and in the course of a lengthy address dwelt upon some of the leading topics occupying the mind of the religious world at the present day. The

necessity of personal effort on the part of all Christians, and the desirability of union in the Church of God, were amongst the subjects enforced and illustrated. The Rev. DAVID LOXTON, of Sheffield, then read a paper, discussing the desirability of preparing a new catechism for the use of the denomination. He recommended the preparation of a new catechism in an interesting and intelligible form, and felt assured that the most beneficial results would follow its use. A very interesting discussion upon the subject followed. The Rev. M. McBRAY, the Rev. E. R. Conder, and the Rev. W. Kingsland opposed the view taken by Mr. Loxton, and maintained that catechisms had failed to do good when they were in use in the churches, and that to attempt to revive them now would be to set them up instead of the Scriptures, where we found a purer standard of truth than any that could be established by man. The Rev. Dr. FRASER supported Mr. Loxton's arguments, and after some further discussion it was resolved that the best thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Loxton for his paper, and that Mr. Conder be requested to write a paper upon the opposite side of the question for the next annual meeting of the Union. Mr. JOHN CROSSLEY then read a paper upon "The desirability of Promoting Middle-class Education." While pointing to the great efforts Churchmen are making in this direction, he expressed his opinion that Nonconformists must bestir themselves if they did not wish to see the children of their wealthier families leaving them for the Church. He recommended the establishment of thoroughly efficient schools, where education could be received by their sons and daughters free from temptations to desert the faith of their fathers. This paper also gave rise to an interesting discussion, in which Mr. Silas Scott, the Rev. R. Bruce, the Rev. W. Roberts, the Rev. Dr. Fraser, and other gentlemen, took part. A report on the papers upon the history of Nonconformity in Yorkshire, collected by the late Mr. Scales, which have recently come into the possession of the Union, was read by the secretary, and a discussion upon the subject took place. A committee of gentlemen to carry out the publication of a History of Yorkshire Nonconformity, founded upon these papers, was appointed, and it was unanimously resolved that the work of preparing such history be entrusted to the Rev. J. G. MIAUL, of Bradford. The Rev. A. RUSSELL read a report upon the subject of establishing a Chapel-Building Society in the West Riding. The report recommended the formation of an auxiliary to the English Chapel-Building Society, for which a sum of not less than 10,000/- was to be raised. On the motion of Mr. J. LAW, seconded by Mr. JOHN CROSSLEY, the report was agreed to, and a large committee was subsequently appointed for the purpose of carrying out the formation of the auxiliary.

In the evening the annual meeting of the West Riding Home Missionary Society was held in East-parade Chapel. Mr. John Crossley occupied the chair. The Rev. J. H. MORGAN, secretary of the society, read the forty-sixth annual report, from which it appeared that during the last year fifty-four congregations had been aided out of the funds of the society. Two new chapels had been opened during the course of the year, and four were now in course of erection. The report gave a number of statistics of an encouraging description respecting the progress of the churches connected with the society. The CHAIRMAN, as treasurer of the society, read the financial statement, and after offering some remarks thereon, announced his intended retirement from the treasurership. He retired with regret, but hoped he should still be a member of the committee, and thus have frequent opportunities of aiding in their good work. The Rev. A. RUSSELL having made a brief statement of the results of his investigations into the spiritual destitution of the West Riding, the Rev. R. McALL, of Leeds, moved a resolution declaring the entire approval by the meeting of the evangelistic agency now being employed by the society in the midst of some of the more densely populated parts of the riding. As they had set themselves to this work, the question was, how it was to be accomplished. Some people might think that the plan of employing evangelists was not the best. He, however, thought it was time that they had evangelists. They needed more funds, and something had been said with regard to the contributions of the wealthy, but he had more faith in the contributions of the great mass of the people. He trusted that the result of their appeal would be to quicken all who were engaged in that work, and to place ample funds at the disposal of the committee. The Rev. H. SIMON, of Castleford, seconded the resolution, which was agreed to. Dr. CAMPBELL, of Bradford, moved a resolution expressing the thanks of the society to Mr. John Crossley for his services as treasurer, and their regret at his resignation of that office. The resolution also nominated Mr. James Law, of Bradford, as treasurer, and the Rev. J. H. Morgan as secretary to the society during the coming year. The Rev. R. SKINNER, of Huddersfield, seconded the resolution, which was agreed to. The proceedings then terminated.

COLLEGE FELLOWSHIPS.—The Fellows of Colleges Declaration Bill (Mr. Bouverie's) is fixed for Wednesday next, the 25th inst.; Mr. Walpole has given notice that he will take the opinion of the House upon the bill on that occasion.

THE CONGREGATIONAL BOARD.—The annual meeting of the Congregational Board was held on Tuesday last. The Rev. Samuel McAll presided. The Rev.

Thomas James, the senior member of the Board, and in the jubilee year of his ministerial life, was elected chairman, and the Rev. William Roberts, B.A., of Notting-hill, deputy chairman, for the ensuing year.

**THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN FRANCE.**—According to *La Presse*, M. Guizot has had a private audience with the Emperor in order to explain the reasons which have induced the Consistory of the Reformed Church to pronounce the dismissal of the pastor, Martin Paschoud. In the course of the interview M. Guizot defended, upon the grounds of Christian dogma and of religious discipline, the rigorous measure which he had supported in the Consistory by his personal influence. The Emperor paid great attention to the remarks of M. Guizot, without pronouncing upon this delicate question any decisive opinion.

**THE BALHAM CHURCH-RATE CASE.**—The case of Leask and Fenning v. Hutton, which has been several months pending, came before Dr. Lushington in the Arches Court on Monday. There were three objections argued by counsel. His lordship in delivering judgment said there was an irregularity as to the poll, but he did not consider that it would vitiate the proceedings. There was money in hand; and was the rate of 3d. excessive? Then there were expenses. Considering the difficulties of churchwardens, he could not say they were illegal, nor could he say that the expense of an organist was an improper expenditure. His lordship then reviewed the question with his accustomed clearness, and pronounced for the validity of the rate, with costs against the defendant.

**GOVERNOR STORKS AND THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.**—On Wednesday evening a meeting was held in the schoolroom of Heath-street Baptist Chapel, Hampstead, the Rev. W. Brock, jun., presiding, to hear addresses from Dr. Underhill and others on the subject of missionary work among the heathen. In speaking of Jamaica, Dr. Underhill said that the Baptist Missionary Society had received a message, through a missionary, from Governor Storks, wishing them to establish a mission at Morant Bay. Governor Storks promised to exert his personal efforts on their behalf, and if they required it he would endeavour to obtain pecuniary assistance for them from the Treasury. But that, of course, the Baptists could not on principle accept. He (Dr. Underhill) thought that after that nothing more could be said against the conduct of the Baptist missionaries in Jamaica, but that it would be seen that they had acted with perfect integrity. (Hear, hear.)

**SYNOD OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND.**—The annual synod of the Presbyterian Church in England was opened at Regent's-square Church on Monday. The Rev. K. H. Lundy, moderator for the past year, named as his successor the Rev. Thomas Alexander, of Chelsea. The Rev. Mr. Alexander having been duly inducted as moderator for the coming year, delivered his inaugural address, in the course of which he commented on two errors that had recently been very prominent—one being the refusal to accept any fixed creed or confession, the other the assertion that the old law was modified or abrogated by the New Testament. Having argued against both these beliefs, he referred to the present condition of the Presbyterian Church in England, which was, he said, most prosperous, principally owing to the aid in money and men they had received from their Scottish brethren. There was at present a sum on the wrong side of their foreign mission fund, but this would, he was sure, soon be made up. In every other way their foreign missions were most prosperous. At the conclusion of Mr. Alexander's address the Rev. Mr. Ballantyne called the attention of the synod to Mr. Chambers' bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister. This measure, if adopted, would have most lamentable results, and he moved that a committee be formed to draw up a petition to Parliament against the bill. The resolution was adopted, and the synod then adjourned.

**THE IRISH CHURCH.**—The adjourned debate on Sir John Gray's motion on the Irish Church has been postponed to Friday week. Relative to the debate of Tuesday, April 10, the London correspondent of the *Manchester City Press* says:—

The debate on the Irish Church did not attract a large House. Sir John Gray, who opened it, is a practised speaker, but he was not interesting in his treatment of what might be made a very lively subject. His speech was a very different thing from that of Bernal Osborne's two or three years ago. He commenced in a loud, defiant tone of voice, which he maintained throughout, and confined himself too much to facts which none deny. But for this, his speech would have been a success, for it was moderate in tone, correct in language, and full of valuable, though old, information. The speech of the evening, in point of value, was Colonel Graville's, but unfortunately he has a weak voice and a feeble manner. The O'Donoghue, who is a quiet, good-looking gentleman, made a very able, well-received speech. The House got fuller as the evening advanced, for members, having left their parties and places of amusement, came in to look after the Irish Church. The sensation of the night was Mr. Whiteside. He outdid himself, and that is saying much. He is irreverently known about the House by the nickname of "Blatheramakite," and, although I have not the faintest idea of the origin or meaning of that word, it is an admirable description of the speaker. The speech was unmitigated rant, which in time grew to be tiresome. Of course, mixed up with the claptrap, there were some smart hits and savage sayings, which the Tories cheered uproariously. And, wonderful to relate, Mr. Whiteside succeeded in making Mr. Disraeli smile; but on Thursday Mr. Gladstone made him laugh! If I had not seen it myself, I should have been incredulous upon the point. Lord Palmerston once got up to reply

to Mr. Whiteside, and said, "I have seen, with much attention, the right hon. gentleman speak, &c." That was a most happy idea, and it was caught by the House at once. The orator goes through a series of physical exercises compared with which the treadmill must be repose. He pumps one arm up and down with great violence, while he makes play with the other in very effective style. Then suddenly he hops about on the floor, shakes his fists at the opposite benches, makes an unprovoked attack upon the despatch-box before him, turns furiously round, roaring and gesticulating at the gentleman who sits directly behind him, and then, wheeling round to all points of the House, he throws his arms about wildly, and brings his hands, his head, his body, and his voice down, down, down, to finish the sentence, with closed teeth and tragic voice. Amongst the spectators attracted to the Peers' gallery were the Primate of Ireland and the Lord Mayor of Dublin. The latter wore his robes and chains. In the earlier part of the evening he had presented a petition at the bar of the House, and it may not be generally known that the Lord Mayor of Dublin and the Sheriffs of Middlesex have the privilege of presenting petitions at the bar.

**CATHOLIC CHILDREN IN WORKHOUSES.**—A petition is now in course of signature by the wives and mothers in the congregations of the various Roman Catholic places of worship in the metropolis, praying Parliament to forbid, under effective provisions, the refusal of free access to a properly-authorized Roman Catholic clergyman to the Roman Catholic children, and the education of any such children in any other than their own faith in any poorhouse, poor-law school, reformatory, or industrial school supported wholly or in part by taxes, poor-rates, or county rates.

**MIDNIGHT MEETING MOVEMENT.**—The sixth annual meeting of the friends and supporters of this movement was held on Tuesday night in Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, Mr. Robert Baxter occupying the chair. The report, read by Mr. Stabb, stated that the operations of the society during the past year had been the most successful since the undertaking of its work of reclamation. Twenty-six meetings had taken place in various parts of the metropolis, and no less than 300 unfortunate were directly induced to abandon their immoral course of life at the very time of holding the midnight gatherings. The income for the past year had amounted to 1,260*l.*, and the whole had been absorbed in carrying out its plan of reformation.

**UNIVERSITY TESTS.**—At a meeting of the Cambridge Union Society on Tuesday, March 13th, Mr. H. L. Anderton, Caius College, the vice-president of the society, being in the chair, the following motion was brought forward by Mr. A. S. Wilkins, of St. John's College:—"That this house would view with approval the abolition of all tests and subscriptions required for admission to fellowship in this University." The motion was opposed by Mr. N. A. Lindsay, of Trinity. After an animated debate the motion was put to the House, when the numbers were,—for the motion, 21; against it, 68. Last year, when the same motion was introduced, the numbers were, 15 in favour, and 124 against; so that Liberal views on the subject are evidently spreading, at any rate among the undergraduates.

**THE COLENZO CONTROVERSY AT NATAL.**—According to the accounts received by the last Cape mail there was still an active paper warfare at Natal. The Rev. A. Tonnesen, the only clergyman who had openly adopted the stand-point of Dr. Colenso, had received notice from the Vicar-General (Dean Green) at Cape Town that his stipend from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would be discontinued. Various letters had followed upon the subject, in one of which the Dean replies—"Fallen spirits may use their subtle intellect to cajol at and condemn the Bible, whilst in heaven we believe it read with ineffable love and deepest adoration. This the Church also seeks to do—from the other it recoils." It was expected that the relative rights of the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Natal would come before the Legislative Council in the form of a bill transferring all Church property from the trusteeship of the Bishop of Capetown to that of the Bishop of Natal for the time being.

**PAPAL PRETENSIONS.**—A correspondent of the *Union*, published in Paris, writing from Rome, gives the following account of Pio Nono's reply to the address presented to him:—"The reply of the Pope was most remarkable, and vividly impressed the numerous bystanders. They were above all struck with the passage of the discourse, when the Holy Father, rising up against those Catholics, lay or ecclesiastic, who arrogate the right to give counsels to the Papacy, and have the presumption to trace for it the road to follow, said, raising his voice with an admirable majesty, 'Alone, in spite of my unworthiness, I am the successor of the Apostles, the Vicar of Jesus Christ; alone I have the mission to conduct and to direct the bark of Peter; I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Those who are with me are with the Church, those who are not with me are out of the Church, they are out of the Way, the Truth, and the Life.'"

**EXCOMMUNICATION OF A CONGREGATIONAL MINISTER.**—The case of the Rev. James Cranbrook, of Albany-street Chapel, Edinburgh, which has within the last few weeks caused so much excitement amongst Independents in Dundee, has now assumed a new and rather startling phase. A few days ago Mr. Cranbrook was requested by a certain well-known and eminent minister of the Independent body in Edinburgh to attend a meeting of ministers who were present at his ordination, in order to ascertain his views on certain points which they were led to believe were different to those hitherto held by the

Congregational churches. Mr. Cranbrook having declined to attend this meeting, or to recognise its authority to put him to the question, intimation has been made to him by the ministers referred to that they cannot any longer recognise him as a brother minister. This is virtually a sentence of excommunication against Mr. Cranbrook.—*Dundee Advertiser*.

**TRACTARIANISM IN DUBLIN.**—In our last number we referred to the riotous proceedings that took place in the church of St. Bride, Dublin, on the preceding Sunday, owing to the strong feeling created by the ritualistic innovations introduced by the incumbent. On Friday a meeting was held in the Pillar-room of the Rotunda to consider the subject. Sir Edward Grogan occupied the chair, and Mr. Brooke, one of the Masters in Chancery, Mr. Burrows, Mr. Joseph Kincaid, Mr. Espine Batty, Mr. Falkner, Mr. Gausen, Mr. Andrews, Q.C., and others, moved and seconded resolutions condemning the innovations in question, as well as the disturbances caused by them:—

In the assertion of the just rights of the laity, they earnestly protested against any teachings or practices in the ministrations of the clergy inconsistent with the articles and general usage of the Church of Ireland, as laid down by lawful authority. These ministrations had now existed to the satisfaction of all Protestants for upwards of 200 years in Ireland, and he hoped that no ministrations inconsistent with those in general use in Ireland would be admitted into their churches by the clergy.

Mr. Falkner, a barrister, said he had great respect for the Archbishop, but he thought that, knowing the movement in England, he ought to understand the vast danger to the Church in Ireland. They had the result of this movement in England in having Dr. Manning, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, reared within the walls of Oxford, and on the other hand a Dr. Colenso. The Irish Church had been unanimous up to the present—a unanimity which was her greatest security in repelling those assaults which were being made upon her from all sides. Among the resolutions unanimously adopted was the following:—

That the cordial union of all members of our Church, both lay and clerical, is of vital importance at this crisis, and we therefore desire to express our determination and readiness to co-operate with our clerical brethren in opposing such innovations as may disturb the peace of the Church, mar its unity, or impede its efficiency.

Mr. Andrews, Q.C., in seconding the resolution, observed that, although that was a lay meeting, he was happy to say that in that country they need have no apprehensions on the part of the clergy generally, and they might readily expect their co-operation to carry out the principles enunciated there that day. It is said that, in consequence with a request from Archbishop Trench, the Rev. Mr. Carroll would abandon the obnoxious practices. On Sunday morning, however, there was an immense crowd at St. Bride's Church. When the Rev. Mr. Carroll commenced his sermon his voice was drowned in a torrent of hisses. He then abruptly retired, escorted by the police, after which the congregation sang the Hallelujah Psalm, concluding with a triumphant "Hallelujah." Thousands were assembled in the streets, but there was no breach of the peace. There was no attempt at evening service; and the multitudes who were vainly waiting in the streets for the opening of the doors dispersed without any disturbance. The police attended in great force.

### Religious Intelligence.

**POULTRY CHAPEL.**—The annual congregational tea-meeting in connection with the Poultry Chapel took place in the schoolroom, in Milton-street, on Thursday evening week. It was well attended. After tea the public meeting was opened in the usual way. The Rev. Dr. Spence, who presided, said he need not say how much he was gratified to see so good an attendance. There was a meeting of the congregation in October, to welcome him home from the East; but that proved premature, for by the providence of God it was followed by an illness that kept him from his duty for seven or eight months. By the same providence, however, he had been restored to health, and he now felt more fitted for his pastoral duties than he had been for three or four years previously. He regretted that indisposition kept Mr. Eusebius Smith from attending the meeting. Every one knew the great interest he felt in all that concerned the Poultry Chapel. During his absence, his place had been supplied by other ministers, and the appeal made by the deacons to the congregation, with the view of meeting the expenses incidental thereto, had been so quietly and liberally responded to, that more than the required sum had been collected without an individual application for assistance. He was pastorally and personally grateful for this, as he felt that the responsibility of the obligation rested upon himself. The money required was 184*l.*, and 200*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* had been sent in, leaving a balance of 16*l.* to devote to the better drainage of the chapel. He believed that no church and congregation more heartily worked for the Lord than the people at the Poultry. Dr. Spence spoke in the highest terms of Mr. Jonathan Birdseye, the Evangelist, who has ministered for five years in Milton-street, and gave instances from Mr. Birdseye's report of the great good he had done for the religious instruction of the poor of the neighbourhood. He also spoke highly of Mr. Vigeon's labours in Fye Foot-lane, Thames-street, both places being in connection with the Poultry Chapel. Mr. James Johnston, the treasurer to the schools, gave an interesting account of their present state. He stated that there were about 1,000 children under instruction in the day and Sunday schools, and that the teachers were about

eighty-five or ninety in number. Mrs. Gorbell had retired from the Poultry Chapel day-school for girls, after an honourable service of twenty-six years. The expenses of all the schools had been met, excepting a small balance due to the treasurer. The schools wanted teachers, and the teachers wanted sympathisers. Mr. Johnston paid a high compliment to Mr. Newman, who, he said, was a great man and a modest man. He was great in the Bible-class, great in committee, and great on the platform, though he spoke but seldom. Mr. Birdseye modestly recounted his labours in Milton-street. They are very onerous, but he goes through them cheerfully, and gives all the praise of his great success to his Maker. Other addresses were subsequently delivered until the meeting was brought to a close.

**HAVERTHILL.**—Mr. W. Courtall, of Hackney College, London, has accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Haverhill, Suffolk.

**BURTON-ON-TRENT.**—Mr. William Aston, of Springhill College, has received and accepted a cordial and unanimous invitation to become the pastor of the Congregational church, Burton-on-Trent.

**ST. LEONARDS.**—The new and handsome Congregational Church in this watering place, of which the Rev. Andrew Reed is the pastor, was, it may be remembered, completed at a cost of 8,000*l.* A large portion of the amount remained as a debt upon the building until Thomas Spalding, Esq., of Ore (a liberal contributor to the church in several ways), challenged the congregation to raise 1,000*l.* as the condition of a gift of an additional 1,000*l.* As the result of that offer, promises of 400*l.* were made, and it was resolved to hold a bazaar, which, after being opened for three days, has yielded about 450*l.* And it is expected that, with the 400*l.* already pledged, the next social meeting of the congregation will afford the gratifying information that 2,000*l.* has been written off the building debt.

**PETERBOROUGH.**—On Good Friday, March 30, services were held in Peterborough in connection with the home mission stations associated with Trinity Congregational Church, Priestgate, under the pastoral care of the Rev. D. Robertson. Nine villages are supplied every Sabbath by the ministers and lay friends connected with the mission. A tea-meeting was held in the Corn Exchange, which was attended by more than three hundred of the friends of the cause, both from the city and villages around. In the evening a numerous meeting was held in the church, presided over by their respected and esteemed pastor. Addresses were given by the Revs. W. M. Jones (of Oundle), Lance, Hancock, Walters; and by Messrs. W. Vergette (treasurer), Aitken, Moore, and Allen. Very much sympathy seemed to be shown to the cause, which has of late years become an increasing blessing. New chapels have been built within the last three years at the villages of Glinton and Maxey, and the chapel at Whittlesey has also been enlarged, at a cost of 500*l.* All the stations appear to be prospering. During the pastorate of the Rev. D. Robertson (extending over a period of only five years), a numerous church and congregation have also been gathered together in Peterborough, and the present handsome and commodious chapel has been erected at a cost of more than 4,000*l.*

**LIVERPOOL.**—On Tuesday, April 10th, the services in connection with the ordination of the Rev. James Wayman as minister of the Congregational Church worshipping in Newington Chapel, Renshaw-street, in this town, were conducted in that place of worship. Some time since Mr. Wayman, who was then a member of the Wesleyan denomination, and one of the ministers of the Pitt-street circuit, withdrew from the Wesleyan body, and shortly afterwards accepted an invitation to officiate as minister of Newington Chapel. The ordination on Tuesday took place in the afternoon, when there was a large congregation. The proceedings were commenced by the Rev. E. Mellor, minister of Great George-street Chapel, who read appropriate passages of Scripture; the Rev. J. Kelly, of Crescent Chapel, then delivered an address on Congregational principles, after which the Rev. J. Mann, of Birkenhead, put the usual questions to the candidate and the church, and these being answered satisfactorily, the Rev. J. Shillito, of Norwood Chapel, offered prayer, and Dr. Parker, of Manchester, delivered the charge to the minister. In the evening a meeting was held in the Royal Assembly Rooms, Great George-street, under the presidency of the Rev. Enoch Mellor, when about 400 persons sat down to tea. After the repast, suitable addresses were delivered by the Rev. E. Mellor, Rev. J. Mann, Rev. R. Thomas, and other ministers and friends of the congregation.

**STRETFORD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.**—Interesting and numerously attended meetings were held in the schoolroom and chapel of this church on Tuesday, April 10, in connection with the settlement of the Rev. John M'Auslane, late of Cumnock, Scotland, as pastor. Mr. J. Baker, senior deacon, presided on the occasion. The chairman remarked that the circumstances which had brought them together were deeply interesting to the members of the church and congregation, and he trusted the present settlement might prove exceedingly beneficial to Stretford. The Rev. E. Morris, of Sale, congratulated the church and congregation on the occasion of their present meeting; he referred to his intimate acquaintance with the rise and progress of the church, and earnestly hoped for pastor and people great prosperity. Mr. Thomas Turner, one of the deacons, read, in the name of the church and congregation, an address of welcome to the pastor. The Rev. J.

M'Auslane replied, and assured the meeting he had listened with deepest interest to the considerate and truly Christian address just read. He then detailed the circumstances which had brought him into connection with the church, and expressed himself most desirous to be useful in commanding the truth as it is in Jesus Christ to all who shall attend his ministry. The Rev. A. Thomson, M.A., after expressing his deep interest in the welfare of the church and the pleasure he had in seeing their new pastor, with whom he had been acquainted for a period of sixteen years, proceeded to deliver the usual charge to the pastor. The Rev. J. Parker, D.D., then delivered an interesting and instructive address to the church. The meeting was subsequently addressed by the Revs. R. W. McAll, J. Bedell, J. Rawlinson, and others, in congratulatory terms.

**THE REV. W. ROBERTS.**—The Rev. W. Roberts has resigned the pastorate of Square Congregational Church, Halifax, and on Sunday, March 24, he preached his farewell sermons to crowded congregations. In the evening hundreds of persons went away, unable to obtain admission. Though Mr. Roberts has only been in Halifax four years, he has made many friends, and there is throughout the town a general expression of regret at his departure. On the following Friday, he received from the deacons of Square a marked tribute of respect, consisting of a cheque for a very handsome sum, raised entirely by voluntary contributions, not one single person, we believe, having been asked to subscribe. Mr. Roberts was one of the most active district secretaries of the West Riding Home Missionary Society, and at the annual conference of that body on Wednesday last, the following resolution was unanimously and most cordially adopted, on the motion of the Rev. James Gregory, of Thornton, which was seconded and supported by the Rev. J. C. Gray, of Halifax, Mr. Alderman Brown, of Bradford, and the Rev. Dr. Fallding, of Rotherham College, viz. :—

That the Rev. William Roberts, during the period of his residence in Halifax, has manifested a truly brotherly bearing towards his fellow ministers, and has been a cordial and faithful worker in all our religious institutions, and we learn with great regret his removal from his present pastorate, and cannot permit that removal without an expression of our sympathy, accompanied with an earnest desire for his future pleasant and profitable pastoral relationship.

**ZION CHAPEL, FROME.**—Services in connection with the recognition of the Rev. A. Rowland, LL.B., B.A. (of New College and London University), who commenced his pastorate at Zion Chapel in that town, in August, 1865, were held on Tuesday, the 10th inst. Divine service commenced at eleven o'clock, and in addition to a large congregation from the town and neighbourhood, there were present most of the ministers connected with the Wilts and East Somerset Congregational Union. After singing a hymn, the Rev. H. M. Gunn, of Warminster, read portions of Scripture and offered prayer. The Rev. Professor Newth, M.A., of New College, then delivered an able introductory discourse from 1 Cor. v. 7, 8. The Rev. D. Anthony, B.A., of Tenby, and predecessor of Mr. Rowland, then in a fraternal and most appropriate manner, put the questions usual on such occasions to the church and the new pastor. Mr. Le Gros, one of the deacons, replied on behalf of the church. The questions addressed to Mr. Rowland were also answered in an ample, earnest, and eminently satisfactory manner. The ordination prayer was then very feelingly offered by the Rev. James Rowland, of Henley-on-Thames, father of the Rev. A. Rowland. The Rev. Robert Halley, D.D., Principal of New College, next delivered the charge to the minister, from 1 Tim. iii. 1—7. The Rev. E. Edwards closed the service with prayer. A cold collation had been provided in the schoolroom; about a hundred persons sat down. The room was tastefully decorated with evergreen wreaths, artificial flowers, and mottoes. The Rev. A. Rowland presided, Dr. Halley proposed "Prosperity to the new pastor" in a cordial speech, and Mr. Le Gros with great feeling proposed the health of their late pastor. The Rev. D. Anthony said he was glad to be present that day, and in the circumstances in which he was situated. His old friends would rejoice that he was a very different being, in point of health, to what he was eighteen months previous. He referred with evident emotion to his residence in Frome, and his deep attachment to his friends at Zion Chapel. Addresses were subsequently delivered by the Rev. J. C. Harrison, of Park Chapel, Cauden Town, Mr. Flatman, Mr. Sheppard, Professor Newth, Rev. J. Blackie, B.A., Rev. T. G. Rooks, B.A., and the Rev. L. D. Bevan, B.A., of the Weighouse Chapel. At the evening service, the Scriptures were read and prayer offered by the Rev. T. Mann, of Trowbridge, an excellent sermon preached by the Rev. J. C. Harrison, of London, from Phil. iii. 9—11, and the Rev. J. M. Blackie concluded with prayer.

**NEWPORT, MON.**—The recognition services in connection with the settlement of the Rev. Henry Oliver, B.A., as the pastor of the Victoria-road Congregational Church, Newport, were held on Wednesday and Thursday last. On the evening of the first-named day, the Rev. Dr. Halley, Principal of the New College, London, preached an admirable sermon to a large congregation, selecting his text from Galatians iv. 22nd to 28th verses. On Thursday morning the Rev. Dr. Halley again preached, from 1st Timothy, iii. chap., 1st to 7th verses. There was a numerous assembly present. The Revs. J. W. Lance, P. W. Darnton, B.A., Dr. Halley, George Thomas, and H. Oliver, took part in the service. At two o'clock a public dinner took place at the King's Head Hotel, at which there were a good number of

ministers, ladies, and gentlemen. The dinner was presided over by the Rev. H. Oliver, assisted by Charles Lewis, Esq., as vice-chairman. The usual loyal and patriotic toasts were followed by "The Nonconformist Churches of England and Wales," responded to by the Rev. E. Watson (Wesleyan), and the Rev. P. W. Darnton. The Rev. E. Pearson and Mr. Tom Jones responded to "The Nonconformist Churches of Newport." "The Monmouthshire Association of Congregational Churches" was responded to by the Rev. J. H. Loochore. The Vice-Chairman proposed the health of the chairman, which was most appropriately acknowledged by Mr. Oliver. "The Health of the Visitors" having been given, the Rev. Mr. Jenkins, of Pontypool, replied. Then followed a tea-meeting, to which about 400 sat down, and a public meeting in the chapel, presided over by the Rev. H. Oliver. After singing and prayer, Mr. Dawson, on behalf of diaconate and church and congregation, gave an address, in which he stated the circumstances which first led to Mr. Oliver's settling amongst them, and in the name of the people gave him a cordial welcome, to which Mr. Oliver responded at some length. Congratulatory addresses were afterwards delivered by Mr. Charles Lewis, and the Revs. J. W. Lance, Joseph Waite, B.A., — Thomas (of Chepstow), Evan Thomas, J. Jenkins (of Pontypool), E. Pearson, T. Nathan, — Thomas (of Llanover), and Dr. Nicholas. The latter said he was now getting to look upon Wales as a part and parcel of England. If time permitted and necessity required it, he could prove that the entire population of the West of England were of Welsh extraction. He had known Mr. Oliver for many years, and could say a great deal about him if he were not present. He could, however, say this, that he knew him to be inspired with honesty and sincerity of aim. After singing and pronouncing benediction, the interesting services terminated.

**RINGWOOD.**—**NEW CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.**—This new place of worship was opened on Tuesday, April 10th. It is in the early English style of architecture, and will provide accommodation for about 650 persons. The total cost, including the adapting of the old chapel as a schoolroom, will be somewhat over 2,000*l.* At the opening service, the Rev. John Woodward, of Christchurch, secretary to the Hampshire Congregational Union, read and prayed, and the Rev. Henry Allon, of Islington, preached a sermon from Luke xxiii. 32, 33. Subsequently a large number of friends dined together at the Crown Hotel, the Rev. J. Dunlop, the pastor of the church, presiding. In the addresses which subsequently followed, the Rev. Henry Allon adverted to the marked improvements everywhere taking place amongst the Congregationalists in the mode of conducting public worship, and concluded by giving some suitable advice in the mode of collecting the free-will contributions of the people. Thanks were voted to the building committee, and Mr. H. Rumsey, the hon. secretary to the committee, acknowledged the compliment. The chairman thanked the strangers present for their attendance, connecting with this sentiment the name of Thomas Coote, Esq., of Bournemouth. Mr. Coote, in responding, said, if they, as Nonconformists, had to subscribe liberally for the support of their principles, they ought not to forget that they were in more favourable circumstances than their ancestors. At Moyles Court, within a few miles of where they were then assembled, once lived the Lady Alice Lisle, who, for having sheltered two Dissenters, was put to death. In a debate which once took place in the House of Lords, a bishop, whose name he had forgotten, sneeringly said that the "Dissenting ministers were men of close ambition." Lord Chatham replied, "Yes, my lord, you are right—they are men of close ambition, but it is their ambition to be members of the College of Fishermen, and not members of the College of Cardinals." He was proud that he had the honour to rank amongst his personal friends many of these ministers—men who, for their great learning and intelligence, there were few to compare with. Mr. Coote concluded by proposing the "Ministers of all denominations." The Rev. John Woodward responded, and was followed by the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, of Christchurch, who alluded to the Reform question, the settlement of which was a subject of much moment. He believed that the present was a crisis of great import to the country, and if the issue was favourable to the present Ministry it would lead to other great and important changes. At five o'clock a public tea was provided in the old chapel, and also in the large schoolroom, which was attended by nearly 500 persons, and at half-past six o'clock a public meeting was held in the new church, which was crowded. After the chairman's opening speech, Mr. Rumsey read the report, from which we learn that the entire cost of the new church, and the alterations of the old chapel to make it suitable for a schoolroom, will exceed 2,000*l.* Towards this amount they had received liberal subscriptions from S. Morley, Esq., M.P., Thomas Coote, Esq., — Piper, Esq.; and the cost of the land was covered by a gift from Messrs. Carter and Co. These amounts, with the subscriptions of the members of the church and congregation, made up a sum on the other side to 1,700*l.*, leaving about 300*l.* to be raised by the opening services and further donations. It was subsequently stated that Mr. Coote had kindly offered to give an additional 25*l.*, on condition that the whole amount should be cleared off within a given time, say six months. The Revs. Joseph Fletcher, J. Grant, R. T. Verrall, of Poole, and W. M. Paull, of Romsey, then addressed the meeting.

## Correspondence,

## CONGREGATIONAL COLLECTIONS FOR THE FREED PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—You will oblige me, and the friends who have made the following collections, in conformity with the recommendation of the Congregational Union, by announcing them in the next impression of your journal.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE SMITH.

Hastings, April 16, 1866.	£0 5 0
Stockport, A Friend	£0 5 0
Welford, Rev. H. Edwards	1 5 0
Peckham, Rev. D. Nimmo	8 0 0
Deal, Rev. J. J. Bartram	2 3 0
Stockport, Rev. J. Thornton	3 13 6
Gaillwyd, Rev. E. Davies	0 14 0
Finchingfield, Rev. J. B. Sainsbury	3 16 7
Llanbrymial, Rev. D. Rowland	1 1 6
Alton, Rev. J. M. Holmes	0 10 0

## CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL, LEWISHAM, FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE SONS OF MINISTERS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Allow me to call the attention of your readers to a notice in your advertising columns in reference to the annual meeting of the above school, to be held on the 24th inst., at eleven a.m., at the Congregational Library.

As J. R. Mills, Esq., M.P., has kindly consented to take the chair on that occasion, and thus to give the sanction of his name and influence to the institution, as a larger number of boys are to be elected than on any one previous occasion, the school thereby being filled to the measure of its present capacity, and, as I may add, it will be the last time the annual meeting will be held in the Congregational Library, so soon to be demolished, the committee are anxious to obtain as large an attendance of the subscribers and friends as they can possibly secure.

They are the more desirous of this as they cannot doubt the school in taking a deeper hold on the sympathy of the Christian public generally, and of the Congregational body in particular, and this they feel it is most important for its future interests should be retained and augmented.

Could your readers be aware, as the committee are, of the earnest desire for admission on the part of many whose applications they are compelled to decline, of the pressing cases of ministerial need which these applications reveal, and of the glowing and grateful acknowledgments of benefit received from many of the parents of the lads who leave, they would not wonder that the committee are anxious, as far as possible, to develop the resources of the institution, and to procure for it a yet larger measure of the influence of the denomination of which they regard it as one of the most valuable agencies.

The report of the year is one calling for satisfaction and thankfulness; they will be glad if by the growing interest of the public and God's blessing it should only be an earnest of better yet to come.

I am, Sir, yours truly,  
Highgate, April 17, 1866. JOSIAH VINEY.

## WILTS AND EAST SOMERSET CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

MY DEAR SIR,—At the annual meeting of the Wilts and East Somerset Congregational Union, held this week in Frome, the subjects of congregational conferences and union representation were introduced by the Rev. C. Chapman, of Bath, and excited much interest among the members of the Union. There was no feeling but one of respect and esteem for our brethren who manage the affairs of the Congregational Union, but rather a desire to relieve them of unenviable responsibility by recommending a more general representation of the Congregational body. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and I was requested to forward a copy to the secretary of each county Union, requesting the consideration of the matter by the brethren in their next meetings, that it may be ascertained to what extent the same opinion prevails among our churches and their ministers.

"Resolved unanimously. 1st. That the opinion of this meeting be conveyed to the committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, that any conference held on denominational matters should consist of such persons as are nominated by county associations; and also that the committee of the said Union should be composed of members nominated by associations, as well as the London board."

It was also resolved that this resolution should be forwarded to the secretaries of the general Union, the secretaries of all county Unions, and to the various newspapers connected with the denomination.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours very truly,  
THOMAS MANN, Secretary.

Trowbridge, April 13, 1866.

## CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS AND CHURCHES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Much has been written of late respecting the proposed new trust-deed, and specially the clause referring to the removal of ministers, and commented on according to the views of different writers. One cannot but feel it is closely associated with the greatest mission ever entrusted to man—"an ambassador for Christ." I trust those of us interested in the matter will be prepared to undertake its consideration in a Christlike spirit.

As professedly New Testament churches, we ought to be prepared also to submit our organisation and arrangements to New Testament laws only. We dare not shield ourselves under any other. And still there are persons who contend that our position differs little from some other sections of the Church as regards the result of a call to the ministry, inasmuch as we recognise that a call from a church claiming to be governed on New Testament principles, does thereby confer a civil right on its chosen minister.

This is said to be placing ourselves under the law and protection of Caesar, so opposed to the oft-quoted

Scripture, "My kingdom is not of this world." It is said there is a diversity of opinion on the point among eminent law authorities, some contending the civil privilege claimed, to hold the office of minister at pleasure, is thus conferred, others give a contrary opinion.

Our anxiety, I imagine, should be to know if the Master who called him to His work made such a provision. Can it be looked upon as a law or institution of His establishment? if not, is it not our duty as churches at once to repudiate the custom as contrary to New Testament teaching, our only acknowledged code of laws for church government?

It seems to me we need to retrace our steps, giving up any antiquated or unscriptural notions that might have gained a place amongst us, and neither in the call on or removal of a minister accept any settled or recognised law past or present, but such as would flow out from, and be the result of, our (as we believe) Scriptural and Apostolic principles.

There is no doubt that an advanced spiritual life would remedy many of our shortcomings—if so, is it not within our reach?—and moreover how desirable for the peace, prosperity, and enlargement (in every sense) of our churches, both as regards a higher toned piety and a better pecuniary provision for all the varied claims of our church requirements.

I long for the day when we shall meet more as brethren, not as bishops and deacons with seemingly divided interests,—"One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren."

The law of love appears to have largely pervaded the early churches. We need to cultivate it in these modern times. And may we not confidently hope and believe, as Christian love prevails and increases, the bond existing between ministers and churches would need no other for recognising and discharging all its claims.

Mere, April 17, 1866. Yours truly,

CHAS. JUPE.

## A GROSS PRESBYTERIAN LIBEL.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—In the *Belfast Whig* of this day, a letter appears from the Rev. John Rogers, of Comber, containing, towards the close, the following:—

"Does the *Daily News* know that in every garrison town, and in every military station in England where they can get it, Nonconformists draw *Regium Donum* for ministering to the troops?—and tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askalon:—these Nonconformist Christians make in every case the false return to the War Office that they are Presbyterian ministers."

The letter from which the above is taken refers to a recent meeting on Ministerial support and the *Regium Donum*. It is no matter of surprise that some ministers defend this payment; but that the writer, a recent Moderator of the Assembly, should attack Nonconformists in so bold and open a manner is astonishing.

It is much to be wished that a denial of the facts alleged here should appear, and I have written to ask if you can notice it, or reply to it, in your paper.

The assertion is very broad—"every garrison town—every military station"—and "in every case false return to the War Office." Surely it should not be difficult to find out if this be true.

I will take care to publish the refutation if you will assist me to find out the facts.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHARLES EASON.

Rathmines, Dublin, April 10, 1866.

[Mr. Rogers' assertion is utterly false. There are no facts to find out.—ED. Nonconformist.]

## Parliamentary Proceedings.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

The House re-assembled on Thursday after the Easter recess. The Marquis of Westmeath presented nearly 100 petitions against the Oaths Bill. Lord Shaftesbury presented petitions from Ballycommon and Killaderry, King's County, against disendowment of the Church in Ireland. On the motion for going into committee on the Ecclesiastical Commission Bill, Earl RUSSELL moved its postponement for a fortnight, as he should then be better able to proceed with it than he was at present. The motion was agreed to. The LORD CHANCELLOR moved the second reading of the County Courts Bill, which was to amend the existing laws in several important particulars. It was proposed to abolish the office of Treasurer, and to regulate the present duties attaching to the office of High Bailiff. Should the bill pass, there would be a saving to the country from the County Courts of £4,000/- a year. The bill was read a second time. The Earl of BELMORE obtained an order for a return of ejectments in Ireland. Their Lordships adjourned at twenty-five minutes to six.

On Friday the Marquis of Westmeath presented a large number of petitions from different parts of the United Kingdom, and from Jersey, against the abolition of the Oaths Bill, and moved for copies of the declaration against transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass by certain Protestants holding office under the Crown, and of any oaths bearing on religion to be taken by persons in any civil office. Lord RUSSELL said he had no objection to the returns moved for by the noble marquis, and they were accordingly ordered, after which the House adjourned.

The LORD CHANCELLOR gave notice that the second reading of the Capital Punishment Amendment Bill would be moved next Tuesday. The House adjourned at a quarter to six o'clock.

## THE OATHS BILL.

On Monday Earl RUSSELL moved the second reading of the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, and stated the history of the measure and of Parliamentary oaths generally, showing that those which were now imposed had no adaptation to the circumstances of the present time, and therefore ought not to be retained.

The Earl of DERBY said that on all hands it was admitted that those portions of the existing oaths which were offensive and unnecessary ought to be abolished; but the question was whether that portion which was introduced for the protection of the Protestant Church, and especially in Ireland, should be repealed. He agreed that there should be one uniform oath; but it should contain expressions of allegiance to the reigning monarch, recognise the Protestant succession to the throne, and the supremacy of the Crown. He did not propose then to offer any opposition to the bill, but he desired that in committee some provision should be made for retaining those points.

After some discussion,

Lord CHELMSFORD gave notice that in committee he should move as an amendment to the 6th section of the bill the words, "provided always that the repeal of these acts or any parts thereof shall not be construed to weaken or in any way to affect any laws or statutes now in force for preserving and upholding the supremacy of our Lady the Queen, her heirs and successors, in all matters civil and ecclesiastical within this realm."

Earl RUSSELL intimated that it was possible that the amendment might be acceded to.

After further debate the second reading was agreed to.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On Wednesday Mr. D. GRIFFITHS moved the second reading of his bill for the abolition of the statutory restriction which prevents members of the House of Commons from holding the office of Postmaster-General. Mr. CHILDESS, on the part of the Government, assented to the second reading. They saw no reason why the head of this particular department should be taken from one House rather than from the other. Mr. HUNT advocated the abolition of the office, the duties of which, he maintained, could be discharged more efficiently by the Treasury. The bill was then read a second time.

Mr. EWART's bill for the amendment of the Public Libraries Act was read a second time.

Mr. DUNLOP moved the second reading of the Valuation of Lands and Hereditaries (Scotland) Bill, the object of which, he explained, was to obtain a more uniform system of assessment in Scotland. The LORD-ADVOCATE opposed the bill, and it was thrown out by 80 to 32.

## VACCINATION BILL.

Mr. H. BAUCE, in moving the committal of the Vaccination Bill, after sketching briefly the history of vaccination, and the legislation in regard to it, and quoting copiously from numerous medical returns and reports to illustrate its efficacy in checking the spread and virulence of smallpox, described in detail the defects of the present system, which the bill was intended to remedy. The bill, he explained, besides consolidating the existing law, would enable the Poor-law Board to rearrange districts and revise contracts periodically; it would provide for more complete and permanent registration, and would give increased facilities to Boards of Guardians to enforce a universal system of vaccination.

Mr. HENLEY, in criticising the bill, pointed out two principal defects—the want of security for a due supply of healthy lymph, and the inadequate payment of the medical officers, to which last cause he attributed the comparative failure of the system of compulsory vaccination.

Sir R. PERE agreed with Mr. Henley in condemning the niggardly payment allowed to the vaccinators, and enumerated nine or ten clauses in the bill which he predicted would be inoperative. He suggested that it should be postponed to give time for further consideration.

Mr. LEWIS moved that the bill be referred to a Select Committee, and this amendment was seconded by Sir J. C. JERVOISE, and supported by Lord HENLEY, Mr. BARROW, and other members.

After some further discussion, Mr. BAUCE, having replied to various objections, accepted the amendment, and the bill was ordered to be referred to a Select Committee.

In Committee of Supply a vote was agreed to of £60,000/- for the site of the Courts of Justice.

After several bills had been forwarded a stage, the House adjourned at a quarter to six o'clock.

On Thursday, the Speaker took the chair shortly before four o'clock. Owing to the discussion on the second reading of the Franchise Bill being fixed for that evening, there was a large attendance of members before prayers, and the several galleries set apart for strangers were also speedily filled to their utmost capacity.

Mr. BOUVERIE gave notice that he should move for a commission to inquire into corrupt practices at Totnes, and Mr. MOWBRAY gave notice of a like motion with regard to Great Yarmouth.

Mr. BOVILL read a statement from Mr. Coleridge, stating that he had not had due notice of being called on to serve on an election committee, and that he would arrive in town at 6:20. He hoped this would be sufficient to prevent the hon. member being ordered into custody. The Speaker gave directions that the other members of the committee should not leave the House before seven o'clock.

## REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE.

After the presentation of a large number of petitions,

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER then rose amid loud cheers to move the second reading of the

Franchise Bill. Promising that his former speech had been censured because it contained no substantial reasons for introducing the measure at this moment—an omission which, he said, if it existed, was prompted by the desire of the Government to avoid anything which would prematurely give the question the character of a party conflict—he reminded the House that he had then referred to the previous history of the question, and the various attempts which had been made to settle the question, to show that all parties were deeply committed to Reform. He referred again to these events, reminding Mr. Horner that he had been one of those who strenuously pressed on the Government a piecemeal Reform like Mr. Locke King's Bill, and read a passage from Mr. Disraeli's speech in 1859 committing his Government to a reduction of the borough franchise. Pledges such as these, he contended, could not be retracted; they constituted an engagement between the people and the leading statesmen of the country which must be fulfilled. He combated the delusion of the Conservative party that the bill was adverse to their interests, regretting that they should have fallen into it, and created much amusement by reading a passage from the current *Quarterly Review* purporting to give an account of the secret motives of the introduction of this bill, which, by an apt Shakespearean quotation, he characterised as a gross and palpable fiction. In justifying the decision of the Government to bring in a bill, he pointed out that since 1832 Parliament had been engaged in constant efforts, by promoting education, fostering prudential habits, and趣terting the press, to fit the people for political privileges, and asked the House whether it would refuse to complete the work which it had then been long preparing. He next canvassed the arguments against the bill, beginning with that which objected to the transfer of the government of the country to the class which did not bear the cost of it, asserting that the working classes, while they only possessed now one-seventh of electoral power, paid five-twelfths of the taxation. He denied that working men would act together as a class, appealing in proof to the working of the municipal franchise, and to the fact that eight boroughs in which they had now the majority returned five Liberal and nine Conservative members. Under this bill he calculated that they would have the command of 120 seats against 538 elected by the other classes in the community, whereas before the Reform Bill of 1832 they had 130 seats, and from this he drew the conclusion that the bill would not involve any transfer of power, and that it was not opposed to the interests of the Conservative party. He dealt next with the allegation that the working classes were being gradually admitted to the franchise by a kind of self-acting process, quoting statistics to show that of late years there had been a great slackening in the enlargement of the 107 constituency. No transfer of political power was contemplated by the bill.

There are 658 members of Parliament; and I would ask how far will the character of the representation be "tainted," so to call it, by the influence of the labouring classes? To begin with, there are 254 county members. Hon. gentlemen are aware of the character of the county franchise; and I think they will say that body of 254 county members is almost free from "the contamination of the working classes." (Cries of "No, no!" from the Opposition.) You say not. Very well; but I don't endorse your opinion if you think that one working man taints a county constituency like a fly in a pot of ointment. (Oh, oh!)

Mr. DISRAELI: There are the 40x. freeholders, of whom a great many are working men.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: You have added these people to the fly in the pot of ointment. ("No, no," from the Opposition.) What is the proportion?

Mr. DISRAELI: That is for you to say.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The right hon. gentleman interpolates questions in the middle of my speech, yet when I invite him to continue the argument in his own way he declines to follow. (Ministerial cheers.) Then I only wish to say, and certainly I thought it generally believed, that the proportion of working men in the county constituencies is exceedingly small. I take it that the county constituencies are independent; free, in fact, from the predominance of working-class influence. If it be not so I shall be obliged to put the proposition in a manner much more unfavourable to you, and I say I have not dealt unfairly by you in saying that county constituencies, having only a minority of working men, are free from the influence of the working classes. Now the towns in England and Wales where it is likely there may be a majority of working men in the constituency have 101 seats; the towns where they must have a minority 239 seats. I assume the same proportions in the Scotch and Irish towns. The effect of that will be that the working classes have a minority in 120 towns and cities, and they will be in a minority in 284 towns and cities. Then come the county constituencies—254. Therefore the working classes will be in a minority in 538 seats against 120 seats, in the filling of which they may be in a majority. Is that a transfer of power such as you ought to fear? To the very liberal statement I have made I invite the closest consideration, and I state that members will be returned to at least 9.11ths of the seats of the country by constituencies where the influence of the working class cannot possibly, as a general rule, predominate.

He stated that though the Government, in deference to the representations of some of their supporters, had agreed to explain their views on redistribution before the committee, they would not proceed with any other part of the subject until the fate of this bill was determined, and pointed out that,

the new electors could not get on the register until June, 1867, there was ample time for the present constituencies to settle both branches of the question. The appetite for redistribution seemed to have grown so enormously—(loud cheers)—within the last few weeks, that if there were a determination to let the grouse and partridges and pheasants have a holiday, and to call Parliament together whether by prorogation or adjournment in order to get this great work out of hand, they would be ready to make the sacrifice and come up as well as they could, though looking perhaps pale and languid enough, to set a last hand to the accomplishment of the work. He then turned to Mr. Lowe's memorable remarks about the working classes—words written on the rock.

"Ignorant, drunken, venal, violent,"—words easily remembered! My right hon. friend spoke of the labouring classes in the constituencies. Did he speak of them generally, or merely here and there of one among them? If he spoke of them generally, then I say his bold allegation is sufficient for its end. If he spoke of a few men among them, then his allegation is worthless as an argument—(loud cheers); his arrow falls short of the mark, he has no right to apply Pride's Purge to the labouring class, and say, "From you we will ride out before we admit you to political rights; every man who is a spendthrift, every man who is a drunkard, every man who has broken one of the ten commandments," while those higher in station but exempt from the operation of this purge may have been wanting in all these respects without in the slightest degree impairing the efficiency of Parliament. (Loud cheers.) But did my right hon. friend speak only of the members of existing constituencies? Is there a man here, or a man who heard my right hon. friend deliver that speech, who forgets his favourite simile of the Hyperboreans? (Hear, hear.) What were they? They believed that though the north wind was cold where they stood—they are the 107 constituencies; that is where we stand now—("Hear," and laughter), yet that by going a little further towards the north—that is, by going successively to 91, to 81, to 71, and eventually to 61—at last they would get into a warm country. (Cheers and laugh.) My right hon. friend ridiculed these notions, and it was not the constituencies alone—it was the masses to whom his observations applied. (Hear, hear.) My right hon. friend supplied us with another proof of his meaning—though I endeavoured to warn him off the ground—in the use which he made of the simile of Virgil. I said, This is no "Monstrum infelix," no horse charged with armed men who are to carry fire and desolation to your homes; but my right hon. friend rushed in hasty into the trap, and with portentous emphasis declaimed—

In tamus tamen immemores, excisque furore,  
Et monstrum infelix avara & sistimus aro.

What is the "Monstrum infelix"? Who are the persons contained in it? The 7-pounders! (Loud cheers.) Sir, I am not seeking to tie my right hon. friend to this construction. What I have said I said to justify myself for having believed, with reluctance and with pain, but still for having honestly believed, that his speech was a denunciation of the working community. If that was wrong, by all means let us hear it. My right hon. friend has explained his speech; let him explain his explanation; and when he explains it, let us distinctly understand—is this a charge against the mass of his working fellow-citizens, in which case it is untrue—or is it only a charge against certain bad characters among them, in which case it is insufficient? (Cheers.)

The right hon. gentleman concluded by an appeal to the House to be wise, and, above all, to be wise in time. (Loud and continued cheering.)

Mr. LOWE protested against the gross, wilful, and systematic perversion of the language which he had used. (Loud and prolonged cheering, especially on the Opposition side of the House.) His argument against the lowering of the franchise was founded only on the proved malpractices of constituencies at elections.

No man in the world has been subjected to more abuse than I have been during the last month. That abuse has been procured by the deliberate misrepresentation of my language. (Hear, hear.) The persons to whom that abuse has been addressed had not the opportunity of consulting the original record of my words. They had to take those words on the authority of the press which instructed or the orator who inflamed them. (Loud cheers.) I make my protest in the face of this House against that process of political warfare. (Renewed cheering.) I entirely deny that I meant to speak of—

Mr. O. STANLEY rose to order, but was received with a shout of "Order," cries of "Chair," and general calls on Mr. Lowe to proceed. In the midst of the storm which came upon him from all quarters, the hon. member was understood to say that the right hon. gentleman the member for Caine would have an opportunity of speaking after the amendment had been moved, and then would be the proper time for him to make the remarks which he had been proceeding to address to the House.

The SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman has not pointed out anything which justified his interruption of the right hon. gentleman the member for Caine. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman is perfectly in order. (Loud and general cheering.)

Mr. LOWE: I only wish, Sir, to say in this public manner, that it never was my intention to say anything reflecting on the honour of the working classes of this country as a body. (Cheers and counter cheers.)

Lord GROSVENOR then moved his amendment, affirming the inexpediency of considering this bill until the House had before it the whole scheme for amending the representation. After referring to the personal attacks on himself, and the threats which had been held out to the dissentient Liberals by the organs of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, he justified the course he was taking by the example of Lord Russell in 1859, and by the concession which the Government had made within the last few days, and he quoted from former speeches of Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone against the separation of the two branches of the subject. He repudiated the charge of deserting his party, arguing that it rested rather

with the Government, which, neglecting its natural supporters, had fashioned their bill at the dictation of the party below the gangway, and predicted that no bill would pass which was framed with such an utter disregard to the views of the Conservative and Whig parties. He denied emphatically that the resolution had been drawn by a Tory hand, and in dealing with the objections to the course proposed by the Government, pointed out that the present anomalies of the electoral system would be increased by the bill, taken by itself, and lamented that it would delay the complete measure which he, in common with the majority of the House, desired to see passed. Differing from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he maintained that the working classes were gradually and silently finding their way into the electoral body, a process which by the passing of this bill would be converted into a precipitate transfer of political power into the hands of one class.

Lord STANLEY seconded the amendment, animating strongly on the distrust of the House of Commons shown by the Government in refusing to disclose their views on the redistribution of seats until they had pledged the House on the extension of the franchise, although they now allowed that the two branches must be considered together. He predicted that such a transparent device would not conciliate any opposition, and warned the House that, even if it saw the Government plan of redistribution before passing this bill, there would be no security that the identical plan would be produced next year, or that this Parliament or the Government would be in existence to pass it. The course taken by the Government, he argued, destroyed all guarantees that the same body would settle both branches of the question.

I do not know that I need follow the example of the noble lord, and vindicate myself from attacks made out of the House. I recollect that I read with no indignation the phrase "dirty conspiracy" used by the hon. member for Birmingham. People who feel strongly speak warmly, but when a phrase of that kind is used by a great master of the English language, I feel a natural curiosity to have its meaning defined. Does it mean the junction of a minority of the Liberal party with the Conservatives in opposition to the Liberal leaders? If so, I think I can remember such a union on two occasions within a few years past. One was in 1857, on the China war; the other, in 1858, was on the conspiracy of Orsini, and on both occasions, I believe, we had the advantage of the support of the hon. gentleman. (Cheers.)

Mr. BRIGHT rose and attempted to address the House, but was met by loud cries of "Order!" from the Opposition benches.

Mr. DISRAELI (also rising) said, "Are you rising to order?"

Mr. BRIGHT replied in the affirmative.

The SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman has stated that he rises to order, and he can only speak to order.

Mr. BRIGHT: I do not wish to interrupt the noble lord, and I only want to say that on the first occasion I was not in the House. (Cries of "Order, order.")

Lord STANLEY: I do not refer to the hon. gentleman alone, but all this indignation and these hard words used by the hon. gentleman and his friends and by a large portion of the press arises from this—that a certain number of gentlemen of the Liberal party, setting their conscientious convictions against their party ties, have asserted their own individual right of judging, and have revolted from dictation. (Cheers.) If that is the cause of all that we have heard and read against my noble friend, we may form some judgment of the nature of the reign of freedom approaching, when day after day members are told, "You have nothing to do with private opinion; all you have got to do is to swallow your scruples and follow your leader." ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) From a party point of view nothing would give me greater pleasure than the adoption of such principles and rules of action in the Liberal ranks, because it would bring a greater accession of strength than anything else could do to the Conservative party. (Cheers.)

He denied that the amendment negatived the principle of a Reform Bill, or even expressed disapproval of the provisions of the bill before them, if only they had the opportunity of dealing with it as a whole.

I want to deal frankly with the House. My opinion may be worth little, but after what has been said—after Ministerial pledges, Queen's speeches, and frequent failures to settle this question—I should not be willing to vote against the second reading of the bill, merely on the ground that it contains some provisions of which I disapprove. Anything that can fairly be discussed in committee ought to be settled there. Some things in the bill are good, some are doubtful, and some exceedingly bad. If it comes to committee, I think it will be possible to show that the Government have underrated the transfer of power which will be effected by this bill. (Hear, hear.) It is not a small measure. (Hear, hear.) It is possibly not less than the measure of 1830. But we are out off from arguing this question of the transfer of power by the peculiar manner in which the bill is brought forward. If I am able to show that in a large number of boroughs—one estimate makes it over fifty, returning ninety-five members—the effect of the franchise is to give a large majority of votes to the working classes, and if I show that in about as many more there will be a minority so large as to turn the scale, I have proved nothing at all; for the question is not as to the effect of this bill upon existing constituencies, but as to the effect of this new franchise in the existing constituencies plus those new boroughs which are about to be called into existence. (Cheers.) These new boroughs, however, are entirely cut off from the discussion, and we are acting in the dark as to the ultimate balance of power between the different classes of the community. (Cheers.)

His lordship concluded by saying:—

All that I contend for now is, that when we are framing that which really is a new Constitution for the country it is an insane act to sanction part of a scheme without knowing the whole as it would be to begin building a palace room by room without an estimate or a general plan, and with only the assurance of

the architect that he understands his business. I would not trust any architect, however skilful and scientific, with an authority so unlimited. (Hear.) This is not merely a question of convenience; it is one of constitutional right and duty. We are entrusted by the Constitution with legislative power; we are bound to use that power according to our free and conscientious judgment; we are bound not to use it in ignorance, not to waive it under popular pressure, not to devote it on the Ministry or any one else the responsibility which belongs to us. Our judgment ought to be free, unbiased, and founded on full knowledge, and it is because no one of these conditions is complied with under the arrangement which Ministers propose that I shall support the amendment of my noble friend. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. P. W. MARTIN made some observations in defence of the dockyard voters, deprecating their disfranchisement. Mr. HORSFALL supported the amendment, and Mr. PIM (member for Dublin city) though regretting the necessity of separating from his party, and advocating an extension of the suffrage, felt bound to oppose an incomplete measure which must delay a satisfactory and lasting settlement.

The Marquis of HARTINGTON (who was much interrupted throughout his speech) urged that such opponents of the measure as Lord Stanley, who were pledged to reform, should have been glad to accept a chance of settling that question. He, however, did not think it extraordinary that the Opposition should accept the amendment, as they probably thought it a means of getting rid of the bill, the Government, and the Reform question altogether, and therefore it was a perfectly fair party move; but it might be found to be a failure. The practical question in this case was what support the amendment would receive from the Liberal side of the House; and he argued that the course taken by the Government in pledging themselves to a redistribution bill, though they passed that for the franchise first, was such as ought to satisfy those who approved the amendment, particularly as every Reform Bill that had been brought in since 1832, and which dealt with the whole question at once, had failed. It was therefore only as a matter of convenience and expediency that the subject was now treated by separate bills.

General PEEL objected that a Palmerston Parliament should be called on to pass a Reform Bill which formed no part of the late Premier's policy. When he was a boy, in the reign of George III, Parliament was dissolved upon the cry—"The good old King and No Popery." Last year the cry was—"The good old Lord Palmerston and No Reform." (Opposition cheers.) He did not mean to say that the cry of "No Reform" would now be uttered, but it was perfectly notorious that so long as Lord Palmerston was at the head of the Government no Reform Bill would be brought it. He ridiculed the sudden awakening of the Government to a sense of honour and morality in regard to their pledges on reform.

Well, the right hon. gentleman being a necessity to the Cabinet, and a Reform Bill being a necessity to the right hon. gentleman—(a laugh)—something, of course, had to be done. And what did they do? They created a sort of new office, although I have never seen it gazetted, and they called in the hon. member for Birmingham as their adviser. (Cheers and laughter.) If it was a question of honour, morality, and respectability, I ask how it was that you allowed your honour, your morality, and your respectability to go to sleep for six years. (Cheers.) That recalls to my mind the epitaph,—

Weep not for us, my masters dear,

We are not dead, but sleeping here.

(Laughter.) And when you awoke, your honour, morality, and respectability took the shape of this Franchise Bill.

When the Chancellor of the Exchequer saw the storm rising he changed the order of battle.

But it is not quite so correct to say that the right hon. gentleman opposite changed his front. He put forward his Franchise Bill in the front, and he stuck to it. He said, "I bring this Franchise Bill into action; and, although I have got all the things that you can ask for—although I have got a Redistribution of Seats Bill, a Boundaries Bill, and Heaven knows how many other bills besides, I will not show you any one of them until you have decided the fate of this measure. I am not sure that that was not good generalship on the part of the right hon. gentleman. We know that with an army composed of mixed forces it is often good strategy to keep some of them out of sight as long as you can. (Laughter.) They are much more likely to produce a panic among your friends than to hurt your enemy. (Laughter.) But surely, Sir, the right hon. gentleman has treated the House of Commons as if we were children. (Cheers.)

Having always been of opinion that many working men might be admitted to the franchise who did not possess it, he rejoiced to find from the statistics that so many were gradually obtaining it, and hoped that with the assistance of a few fancy suffrages many more might be admitted. He objected, however, to open the door so widely as to overwhelm all other classes of the community, and he complained of this bill that, so far from being a final settlement of the question, it would be made a stepping-stone to further advances in a democratic direction. It was impossible to disguise the fact that the power of the Crown and the power of the House of Lords had been materially interfered with since the passing of the last Reform Bill. ("Oh," and cheers.) He repudiated the dictation of the Government.

They don't allow us to know what the proportions of this Franchise Bill will be when it is fitted to a new distribution of seats. You will shortly be called upon to say "Aye" or "No" to the amendment of the noble lord the member for Chester. But if you believe that this is not a proper way of dealing with this question; if you think you ought to say "Aye" to the amendment of the noble lord opposite, while for party purposes you are going to say "No"; if your lips say "No," although your consciences say "Aye," then will

you be pursuing a course which reminds me of the two lines addressed by Achilles to the Ambassador:—

I count him faithful towards Hell

Who in his mind thinks other than his tongue doth tell.

(Loud cheers.)

Mr. KINGLAKE, in reference to some observations of General Peel, said that he had not withdrawn the amendment of which he had given notice, although its object had been obtained by the concession of the Government in regard to the redistribution of seats.

Mr. B. STANHOPE, in supporting the amendment, controverted some of Mr. Gladstone's statistics, and criticised severely his celebrated "flesh and blood" phrase, showing the contradictions and the extremes in which, if followed up to a logical result, it would involve the Government. He opposed the bill, on the ground that it must lead to the swamping of the agricultural interest.

At half-past twelve the debate was adjourned, on the motion of Mr. BAXTER.

The remaining business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at a quarter to one o'clock.

On Friday the several members who had given notice of motions on going into Committee of Supply having postponed them,

#### REFORM.—ADJOURNED DEBATE.

The adjourned debate on the Franchise Bill was resumed by

Mr. BAXTER, who argued that the talk about the democratic character of this and other Reform Bills was so exaggerated that it might be thought that its provisions were cognate to those of the Charter. The very perils which were connected with the idea of universal suffrage were arguments in favour of a safe and moderate concession of political power, like that which was proposed by the bill. The effect of lowering the franchise now would be the same as that produced in 1832, that of rolling back the tide of uneducated and ignorant political aggression, and securing many years of political quietude. The opponents of the bill professed to be greater reformers than the Government—asking a larger scheme of reform; whereas in fact they were the opponents of all reform. The country, however, had discovered the hollowness of the pretext adopted by the anti-reformers; and even some of the Conservative party were of opinion that its leaders had made a mistake in the course they had pursued towards this bill. The Government had taken the wisest and most honest course which was open to them; and although the bill did not go as far as he would have desired, yet he frankly accepted it as a fair concession of political power to the working class. He argued statistically that the number of that class which would be admitted to the franchise had been somewhat exaggerated.

(Continued on page 313.)

#### THE REFORM QUESTION.

On Wednesday two hundred and thirty members of the Conservative party assembled at the Marquis of Salisbury's residence in Arlington-street, Piccadilly, London. The Earl of Derby was present, and addressed the meeting. Mr. Disraeli, and the leaders of the party in the House of Commons, were also present. The meeting, which was called by circular, separated at about a quarter to three o'clock. The subject under consideration was the Government Reform Bill and the course to be pursued by the Conservatives in the forthcoming debate.

The Redistribution Bill which Government will introduce, we hear, will not involve complete disfranchisement of any place now returning members; but will probably render about or over thirty seats available, by taking one seat from that number of small boroughs now possessing two members.—*Scotsman.*

Speaking of the probable issue of the Reform debate, which is not likely to close before Friday night or Saturday morning, the London correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury*, writing on Monday, says:—

Although there is no room to doubt that the second reading of the Reform Bill will be carried, some doubt still exists as to the probable number of the majority. It seems to be now understood that the numerical force of the malcontents is greater than was probable a few days ago. But every day the number undergoes changes, and it turns out that some will vote for the amendment who were supposed to be sound, and that some will vote against it who was supposed to be doubtful. Lord Andover, Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Charles Fitzwilliam, will be found among the former, while Mr. Edward James represents the latter kind. These choppings and changings, and chances of war in the election committee, however, when set off one against each other, leave matters pretty much where they were, and those best able to make such calculations still find the totals relatively the same, or so nearly the same as to make little difference. The estimate I sent you last week, that the majority will range about thirty, more or less, is probably near the mark.

Both parties are extremely well in hand, and will be kept in hand until the final hour. It is only about the votes of a few men that there is any doubt, and only one or two men are really dark horses about whom nothing is known yet. Probably nearly all the members will be accounted for one way or another.

#### Postscript.

Wednesday, April 18, 1866.

#### LATEST FOREIGN NEWS.

The Vienna papers assert that Queen Victoria has addressed a letter to Count Mensdorff, in which her Majesty expresses her high approval of the attitude

maintained by the Austrian Government in its dispute with Prussia.

A telegram from Silesia states that the Prussian military preparations in that province continue.

In Monday's sitting of the Upper House of the Hungarian Diet, the Prince Primate and Herr von Vay opposed the adoption of the Address of the Lower House, and expressed their conviction that it was the intention of the Emperor to bring about the restoration of the Hungarian Constitution.

The news brought by the Moravian from America is deeply interesting. The Senate, by a majority of 33 to 15, have voted the Civil Rights Bill over the President's veto. There seems to have been a warm discussion on the question. It was believed that the House of Representatives would also pass the bill over the veto. The Committee on Foreign Affairs had reported the resolution to send a fleet to the fishing grounds. The measure is, of course, purely precautionary. Senator Lane had advocated the admission of Southern members. The President had sent a message to Congress recommending the modification of the Test Oath of 1862. He also recommends an appropriation for the owners of the British ship *Magicienne* captured as a blockade-runner.

The Fenian bondholders are growing impatient; therefore, President O'Mahony has got up two or three farces for their amusement. Reports were circulated that a force of Fenians under Killian had gone to seize the island of Campo Bello, in the Bay of Fundy. Another report asserts that a force has set out to attack Bermuda. Perhaps this report refers to some of the Fenians convicted in Dublin or Cork who may have been sent to our convict settlement at Bermuda. Still another report is that the Fenians are to attempt to foment disturbances on the fishing grounds. All this is, of course, mere talk. Stephens seems to have sent a hopeful letter to his fellow-Fenians in New York.

The Upper House of the New Brunswick Parliament has passed resolutions in favour of the Confederation scheme.

#### YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

The House of Lords sat only for a short time. In the Commons, in answer to Mr. Beaumont, Mr. LAYARD said that there was no reason to believe that a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, had been entered into between Prussia and Italy.

In answer to Mr. Aytoun, Sir G. GREY said that it was intended to bring in a bill for granting a new charter to the Queen's University in Ireland.

In answer to Mr. Otway, the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that the Government did not think it convenient to state the course which they would take in regard to clauses of the Franchise Bill, and, therefore, he could not say what was their intention as to the disfranchisement of artisans in Government dockyards.

#### THE MALT TAX.

Sir F. KELLY moved that on any future remission of indirect taxation, the House would take into consideration the duty upon malt, with a view to its immediate reduction and ultimate repeal. Mr. JAMES MORRIS seconded the amendment. Mr. NEATE moved an amendment, that in the present state of the taxation of the country, it is the duty of Parliament to make provision for the systematic reduction of the national debt, and not to sanction any proposal for any repeal or change of taxes which is likely to be attended with a diminution of revenue. Mr. J. S. MILL seconded the amendment, and urged that the time had arrived when the country should consider its pecuniary obligations, with a view to relieving posterity from their burthen. He contended that it was possible to set aside several millions a year for the purpose of diminishing our pecuniary engagements. Mr. READ threw out the suggestion that the tax might be transformed into one on beer. Mr. GRANTON, in an animated speech, protested against a proposal which would commit the House to dealing in a particular way with an imaginary surplus, especially when a sum of nearly seven millions of taxes was involved. The amendment was withdrawn, and on a division the motion was rejected by 235 to 150. The House adjourned about twelve o'clock.

The Northumberland is at last afloat. The preparations were most carefully made, and yesterday they were assisted by a very high tide. Shortly before three o'clock the blocks were knocked away, and the great ship moved gently into the water. There were very many spectators present.

A most influentially-signed document has been presented to Mr. Peabody, inviting him to a banquet in the city. Mr. Peabody, in a feeling reply, expresses his profound regret that he is unable to accept the invitation.

The Guildhall Industrial Exhibition was brought to a close yesterday. Mr. Peabody distributed the prizes to the various successful exhibitors, and made a most appropriate speech on the occasion. The Lord Mayor took an active part in the proceedings, and made a capital speech.

#### MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

Fresh up to our market to-day the arrivals of home-grown wheat were but moderate. The trade for good and fine samples ruled firm, at full prices, but inferior qualities moved off slowly, at Monday's currency. The market was moderately supplied with foreign wheat. The amount of business transacted was moderate, and prices ruled firm. Floating cargoes of grain were in fair demand, at late rates. The supply of English barley on sale was small; of foreign, moderately large. The trade was dull, and thin samples changed hands at rather lower prices. Malt was in fair demand, and the quotations ruled firm.

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## The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18, 1866.

## SUMMARY.

SEVERAL election committees are now sitting, and two have completed their labours. Mr. Forsyth, one of the Conservative members for Cambridge, has been unseated in consequence of holding an office of emolument under the Crown—that of Counsel to the Indian Board—and the election was declared void. Mr. Leveson Gower has also lost his seat for Reigate in consequence of corrupt influences used by his agents. If the scrutiny of votes is persisted in, the lengthened inquiry into the Nottingham election is likely to last some time longer. At present the committee are engaged in investigating the charge of bribery against Mr. Morley—the bribery consisting solely in the employment of paid canvassers, according to the custom observed in that town. Though these election inquiries are so numerous, they will not materially affect the vote on the second reading of the Reform Bill, which will probably be taken on Friday night or Saturday morning. During the week the names of Mr. Pim, Lord Dunkellin, Mr. McKenna, and Major Anson, have been added to the malcontent Liberals, who will, it is expected, number about sixteen, and leave the Government a smaller majority than was anticipated a few days ago.

There is happily no doubt of the rapid decline of the cattle plague. Since the middle of February the cases of animals attacked have fallen from 18,000 to 4,000 a week, with every prospect of a further steady diminution. This result is the more satisfactory, as our herds are now no longer kept in sheds, but are sent out to the pastures, where the risks of infection are greater. The rinderpest now appears to have been reduced to manageable limits, without any excessive destruction of diseased or suspected cattle, and the various local authorities appear to exhibit great energy in dealing with the fatal distemper.

A deliberate attempt has been made at St. Petersburg to assassinate the Emperor of Russia, which has happily failed. The criminal is in custody. From the fact of Count Berg, the Governor of Poland, having been summoned to St. Petersburg, it is to be feared that the attempt on the life of the Czar may have been the result of a Polish conspiracy, and that the whole of that down-trodden people will be made to suffer by more rigorous repressive measures for this wild act of vengeance.

The conference of European Powers at Paris having failed to come to any arrangement for the future government of the Danubian Principalities, the population have taken the matter into their own hands. They have almost unanimously elected as the Hospodar of Roumania Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, who is allied to the royal families both of Prussia and France. An attempt made at Jassy in the Russian interest to proclaim the separation of Moldavia from Wallachia has signally failed. The Roumans have now chosen a successor to Prince Couza, and it is not probable that any foreign Power will seriously oppose their decision, Russia being prevented by treaty engagements from interfering alone in the Principalities.

President Johnson has issued a proclamation formally declaring the civil war in America to be at an end, suspending martial law in the Southern States, and restoring to them their civil rights. The policy of the step some of the best friends of the President doubt, and believe it to have been instigated by a desire to break entirely with the Republican party, to whom he owed his elevation to power, and to show his independence of Congress. If the Connecticut election is any criterion, public opinion in the North does not approve of the strong Southern leanings of Mr. Johnson, who seems disposed to exact no guarantees whatever for

the protection of the emancipated negroes. The Executive and the Legislature are now at open issue; the Senate having, by a vote of 33 to 15, passed the Civil Rights Bill over the President's veto, and being likely to be supported by the House of Representatives.

## ADVANCING AGAINST OBSTACLES.

We have read the three nights' debate on the "Representation of the People Bill" with conscientious attention, but on the whole, with no great interest. The nominal and the real issue differ. It is a contest of wits, not a conflict of the dynamic forces of political society. It resembles a brilliant *rencontre* of cavalry, rather than the shock of armies by which national interests are decided. Or perhaps we might say—it is manoeuvring rather than fighting, a competition of tactics instead of a clash of principles. Nothing really goes for what it is worth—no charge is direct—and even where the struggle is hand-to-hand, it contributes no great deal to the settlement of the campaign. Everybody, it is true—and this is the most inspiriting feature of the affair—everybody is in earnest, but all are endeavouring to do sideways what they would have been much better pleased to do, and would have done much better, straightforwardwise. Earl Grosvenor's amendment happens to be one in support of which a good deal that is reasonable can be spoken—but then, as even he must by this time have become aware, it is one that is supported by the Tories, not because it is reasonable, but simply because it offers vantage-ground to those whose sole object is to destroy the Bill. But Earl Grosvenor's amendment is precisely the move which the Government ought to have foreseen, and, although we rejoice in the belief that no serious detriment will come of it we must confess that it was a mistake of generalship which laid Reform open to an assault in flank. The evil consequences will not appear, at least to any appreciable extent, in the division—but the mistake is one which has sadly hampered the debate.

The main point, however, on which our thoughts are disposed to tarry, and to tarry with high satisfaction, at this seemingly critical stage of the contest, is the certainty that Parliamentary Reform is advancing against all obstacles, and that no room is left for doubt in regard to its final triumph. The question cannot be talked out as in 1859. It is no longer a shuttlecock flying to and fro between the battalions of party. Ministers have made a business of it, by themselves refusing to treat it as a game. And the country, as we uniformly led our readers to expect, instantly responded to a show of earnestness, by a show of moderation and unanimity. It has taken up the Government Bill not only as a measure of real intrinsic worth, although it falls somewhat short of what was anticipated, but also as representing an Administration visibly intent on elevating the political *status* of the operative class. Even in degree, the enfranchisement of the workmen provided for by the Ministerial scheme, is considerable, while in kind, as indicating trust, it is of inestimable value. The middle classes have not been scared by it into opposition—the unenfranchised have discerned in it a promise of good upon which they may rely. The two sections of society have become one in their judgment of the measure, and also of the men who have proffered it in redemption of their pledges. Accident may delay it—war, or death in high places, or even party tactics—for a year or even two; but the sincerity of the Government and the almost unbroken consensus of the country, have virtually settled the question. We are to have an amendment of our representative system as preliminary to an improved tone of legislation—and, in all probability, before another Parliament is summoned, the constituent bodies will have been so modified and arranged that they will reflect with tolerable accuracy the real opinions of the country.

The pith of the whole question is contained in the admirable speech of the hon. member for Westminster—John Stuart Mill. This Franchise Bill is a good thing in itself, and there can be no reason (which a sincere Reformer at least would deem of any weight), that it should be rejected or even postponed, lest peradventure the Redistribution Bill which may follow it should give it a largely-increased value. The country does not really care a button whether the arrangement of seats is to be settled by this or by another Parliament—by the old or by the new constituency. It sees clearly enough that the vital consideration is, not how many shall obtain votes, or how they shall be grouped, but what shall be the status of the electors, and how far they can express their views independently. The Franchise Bill, therefore, should be discussed on its merits, not on the accident of its relationship to a yet unpublished Redistribution Bill. At the same time, one cannot but regret that Ministers have not consented to disclose their whole plan before requiring a decision on a part of it only. We do not suppose it would have made the smallest difference in the result—but it would at least have deprived the House of Commons of all ground of complaint that

it is not trusted, and is required to legislate blind-folded.

One cannot but observe that the entire question has advanced so steadily, so surely, and so far, that there remains no likelihood of reaction. Whatever discussion may have done for or against the Ministerial mode of proceeding, it has certainly done much to set aside the objections entertained against the Bill on its first appearance, and to make men more fully appreciate its good points. The measure has gained in public opinion, since its introduction, in many ways—we think we may say in every way. It has acquired, and is daily acquiring, increased political weight. It cannot now be thrown out without provoking a feeling of popular resentment, which is but little likely to brighten Conservative prospects. In a word, the nation has adopted it, and will see it through both Houses, or will make much larger and more democratic demands. This, we think, is now pretty well understood by all parties. A reform of the House of Commons is seen to be not only inevitable, but imminent, and the present is the most moderate measure which Parliament will ever have it in its power to pass. Substantially, therefore, we expect, it will accept the provisions of the Government Bill. There may be some difficulty in getting it through committee, but the firmness of Ministers will find it not insurmountable. It strikes us as more probable that both Bills will be passed this Session than that the Franchise Bill will be defeated. If, as we hear, the Redistribution Bill disenfranchises very few boroughs, groups the smaller of them together, and confers less than thirty seats on unrepresented places, it is not improbable that the next demand of the Conservatives will be to deal with the measure this Session, and leave nothing material to the chances of the future. Friday night's division, if favourable, as it is expected to be, to Government, will perhaps settle the question once for all, and thenceforth only formal opposition may be thought advisable.

## WAR PROSPECTS IN GERMANY.

THE telegraphic news of the week from Vienna and Berlin have been conflicting, sometimes contradictory, but, on the whole, we think, a trifle less threatening towards the close than at the beginning. Count Bismarck has probably found that, however disposed he may be to treat the commonest rules of international morality with cynical indifference, it is more difficult to do evil according to his fancy than he could have imagined it. He has no scruples of his own, and has been apt to overlook the fact that this is not by any means identical with the absence of obstacles originating in quite another source. But the King whom he serves, and whom he has flattered while he has misled, is not quite so reckless of consequences as his Minister. King William, it is rumoured, and the truth of the rumour is corroborated by passing events, however willing in the main to add Schleswig-Holstein to his dominions, is not quite easy in contemplation of a war with Austria. Various influences are closing in upon him, as the prospect of war becomes more imminent, to which he cannot altogether close his mind, and which operate powerfully in favour of the maintenance of peace. The earnest counsels of the various members of the Royal family, the entreaties of the most influential of his people, not only in the provinces, but in the very city of Berlin, the solemn remonstrances of Bavaria and Saxony, the spirit of which animates all the other members of the Bund, and, finally, the diplomatic representations of foreign Powers—have contributed, each in its measure, to shake the strength of the Royal resolution, and to indispose him to give M. Bismarck a free rein.

It is quite clear that the Prussian people do not second the desire of their monarch, or, more correctly speaking, of their monarch's man of business, to obtain the Elbe Duchies at the cost of a war with Austria. His Majesty's subjects are not greatly troubled with qualms of conscience, it is true, and we are not sure, judging from the past, that they would find it in their hearts to protest against the annexation of the Duchies, or indeed of any other territory, if it could be safely done. They highly value constitutional principles for themselves, even while they have allowed them to be trampled under foot by royal prerogative—but it would perhaps be crediting them with more political virtue than they would claim for themselves, to conclude that they would refuse any acquisition of territory until the population of it had signified their assent to be so disposed of. A war with another German Power, a war which would tax Prussia's utmost strength, and a war, moreover, which would be likely enough to invite the aggression of ambitious neighbours, is quite as unpopular in prospect as it would be unfortunate in realisation. The people of Prussia will not be dragged into hostilities if they can help it—and they are exerting themselves to prevent so disastrous a consummation. Their trade is of more importance to them than the gratification of their ambitious wishes, and a German war would be anything but a light matter to the population of Prussia.

The diplomacy of the two great Powers of Germany would lead one to infer that the next step on the part of either must be a breach of the peace. And yet when the acts of Austria or of Prussia are closely scrutinised, it is obvious that neither of them regards the preservation of peace as utterly impracticable. Both are conscious of their responsibility. Each seeks to throw the charge of aggression upon the other, and neither is willing to take the first hostile step. This indicates that matters are worse diplomatically than they are really, and leaves us room to hope that sanity of mind will yet control the situation. But, we must confess, that from the first outbreak of this affair, we always regarded the solution of the problem as belonging far rather to France than to Germany. Count Bismarck, we may rely on it, knows well how far the Emperor is disposed to connive at his aggressions, and has, no doubt, clearly ascertained what is to be the consideration given for Imperial neutrality. His audacity has probably been encouraged by one who has a longer head and far more self-restraint than himself. The Emperor of the French is too cautious, of course, to have committed himself in any irretrievable way to a headstrong and reckless political adventurer. But a nod or a wink, or even a determination to look another way, may be significant and abundantly intelligible. There is not the smallest doubt that a word of Napoleon's might put an end to all Bismarck's follies—and the word is not spoken. We have no right to blame—but we are quite unable to assure ourselves of the future whilst France remains ominously silent in prospect of a threatened war on the Continent. Still, France seems to look with more confidence than she did a few days ago on the probabilities of a pacific termination of the present difficulty, and her Bourse has responded to her change of feeling. There is a slight, a very slight break in the clouds, and one cannot but entertain a hope that the storm will roll away at last without bursting overhead.

## NOTES OF THE SESSION.

ON Thursday evening commenced in real earnest the Reform debates, which promise to occupy a considerable portion of the remainder of the Session, and to make the year 1866 memorable in our annals. There were no signs of a popular demonstration in Parliament-street or Palace-yard. The heightened interest in the subject drew together a fair number of people of a mixed description, whose excitement was restrained within moderate bounds, and among whom curiosity was apparently stronger than partisanship. Within the walls of the House of Commons the signs of a great event were more palpable. Every available seat in every part of the House was speedily occupied, after the Speaker—who has braved personal suffering, if not worse, to fulfil his duties at an important juncture—had taken the chair. The mass of petitions which were then presented in favour of Reform, though greatly delaying the business of the evening, were well adapted to mark the changed aspect of the question, and to strengthen the hands of the leader of the House. Petitions to Parliament are sometimes of little avail, but now they were palpable and genuine signs of popular feeling, which newspapers hostile to Reform, and able to suppress reports of meetings, were powerless to conceal.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in moving the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill, spoke in a tone very different from that adopted on the introduction of the measure. Then he had to explain and expound—now he was on his defence against nominal friends of Reform, some of whom had been favourable to the piecemeal method, and an Opposition, the leader of whom had seven years ago actually pledged himself to a reduction of the borough franchise. Mr. Gladstone, in combating “the delusion” that the Bill was adverse to the interests of the Conservative party, quoted the figments of the *Quarterly Review*, including the assertion that the measure was extorted from the Government by Mr. Bright, its “insatiable ally,” which he denounced in the words of Prince Henry to Falstaff:—

These lies are like the father that begot them,  
Gross as a mountain, open, palpable.

(Much laughter, and an hon. member, “Who is the father of them?”) Mr. Gladstone could not say, but nearly opposite to him sat Lord Cranbourne, who, at these pointed allusions, says the *Spectator*, “threw back his head, and gazed as steadily at the ceiling of the House as Sam Weller himself when challenged by the little judge to identify a parent who might certainly have been described in similar language.” In referring to the worse than folly of declining to give political power to people whose fitness Parliament had “increased day by day,” Mr. Gladstone was interrupted by cries of “No, no,” from the back Opposition benches, to which he adroitly replied:—“I don’t complain of the interruption—in fact, I am very glad to hear it. (Cheers and laughter.) I wish that cry was much louder—

I wish it was more universal. I wish it came from the front Opposition benches, and from my noble friend behind me. (Loud cheers and laughter.)” With great force the Chancellor of the Exchequer showed how very chimerical were the fears of the opponents of the Bill. It would not give a preponderance of power to the working classes any more than did the municipal franchise, which gave double the number of voters to the Parliamentary franchise, and yet had worked so smoothly. Nor would it lead to a transfer of power, seeing that the working classes would have only 120 seats against 533 at the disposal of the other classes of the community, including the counties in none of which the working classes were predominant. Yet there were intelligent men—such was the effect of fears and suspicions—who held that property was a cause of weakness, and that mere numbers, in spite of all history and experience, were to be regarded as stronger in determining the force of political opinions than similar numbers when they happened to be backed by property. Having with closeness of reasoning and with equal force and ease struck down the fallacies of alarmists, the right hon. gentleman explained the course which the Government intended to pursue, intimated that they should stand or fall by the other portions of the Reform scheme as well as by the Franchise Bill, and were quite ready, if time would permit, to deal with the Distribution of Seats Bill this Session; though, as the new constituency could not come into existence till the end of 1867, the present Parliament, or one elected by the present electoral body, would have ample time to consider the entire proposition of the Government. Mr. Gladstone then turned to Mr. Lowe, who had complained that he was replied to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer elsewhere, but not in Parliament. After some soothing compliments, he showed that the philippics and quotations of the right hon. gentleman must have applied to the seven-pounders, or they had no relevance whatever. But if his description were true, it would not only destroy that Bill, but “the hopes of every generous heart and every intelligent mind; there is nothing to hope for England if that picture which my right hon. friend with his matchless power strove to draw is a true picture.” In the briefest and most telling of perorations the Chancellor of the Exchequer, referring to the language of the amendment, adjured the House to have done with “idle mocking words.” “Deeds are what are wanted. I beseech you to be wise; and, above all, to be wise in time.”

Mr. Lowe then, amid the vehement plaudits of the Opposition, explained his explanation by charging his opponents with deliberate falsification. No doubt he has been the best-abused man in England for a month past. But the right hon. gentleman has brought it all upon himself. It is not the “manipulations of the penny press,” but the whole tenour of his speeches for the past two years, that suggested—nay, compelled—the impression that to lower the franchise would be to hand over the government of this kingdom to an unscrupulous mobocracy. The country can easily forgive Mr. Lowe, for no single man has done more, though unwittingly, to stimulate the Reform feeling, and arouse the artisans whom he denounced.

It was rumoured on Wednesday that Earl Grosvenor, who had risen on that day to make a remark, but was put down on a point of order, was disposed to withdraw his amendment. The report, as he explained, was unfounded. His lordship moved his resolution as to the inexpediency of discussing the Bill till the entire scheme of the Government was before the House, and supported it with a moderate but feeble speech in which he propounded the funny idea that no Reform Bill could pass except one that satisfied both Radicals and Conservatives, and that such a measure could be properly digested by a dispassionate tribunal like the Privy Council on Education! Lord Stanley, in seconding the amendment, spoke with caution about reform, and with calm force in condemnation of the course taken by the Government, which showed, he said, that the House of Commons was not trusted. Well, though it is not politic to say so, that is precisely the case. Broken pledges and “idle, mocking words” are not so easily forgotten. The illustration given by his lordship of building a palace, room by room without an estimate or a general plan, and with only the assurance of the architect that he understands his business, is apt enough. Perhaps a complete design would have been better, and, as his lordship contends, more constitutional. But Ministers did not think so, and as the country believes more in the sincerity of Government than of Parliament, they are content to put up with an inferior method of procedure, if they get Reform. Lord Stanley, though always very lukewarm on the subject, is, we believe, perfectly sincere in his statement that the question must be dealt with after Ministerial pledges, Queen’s speeches, and frequent failures; but can he answer for those who are ranged behind him, and who have placed him in a position as a party man, from which he will be unable hereafter to extricate himself? It is sad to find so independent and progressive a statesman at length

dragged down to the level of the Tory rank-and-file, and forced to—

Give up to party  
What was meant for mankind.

After one or two speakers had filled up the dinner hour, including Mr. Pim, the member for Dublin city (who was returned by Conservative as well as Liberal support, and whose defection from the Ministerial side on which he sits is therefore less surprising), the representative of a great Whig house was put up to answer another. It was Devonshire against Westminster. The Marquis of Hartington, now Secretary-at-War and a Cabinet Minister, was apologetic and smart, and though not over successful in defending the Government, the Opposition kept up a running fire of laughter and ironical cheering throughout his speech, as though his arguments were incapable of any articulate reply. They were thus well prepared for the dashing attack of General Peel on the Government, who, warming to the work, was a great deal franker than suited the occasion, and finally got into a denunciation of the Reform Act of 1832, and drew a picture of the new voters *à la Lowe*. It was the genuine military idea of the people—of a mob whose sole political aspiration was to be bought and sold. It is useful to get an occasional glimpse of downright, naked Toryism. Yet General Peel has been talked of as a possible leader of the House of Commons! Mr. Banks Stanhope, who wound up the evening’s debate, made a tremendous attack right and left. That might be the “Black Parliament” which “begau democracy,” and there sat the Ministers who had interred Lord Palmerston, and buried his principles with him; and then as a climax he called upon both sides to re-echo the words he was about to utter—that the House of Commons would not and should not be dictated to by the member for Birmingham.

Mr. Baxter, who opened the debate on Friday, naturally wondered how those who had heard and believed in the alarmist predictions of General Peel and Mr. Stanhope had passed the night, and manfully denounced these incessant attacks on Mr. Bright as unworthy a deliberate assembly. The hon. member spoke with quiet force in favour of the Bill, and ably vindicated the working classes from the aspersions that had been heaped upon them. The rising of Sir Bulwer Lytton, who so rarely speaks in the House, brought in all the straggling members, and excited no little stir. The right hon. gentleman did not disappoint expectation, for though his speeches, like those of Mr. Horsman, are worked up in his study, and learnt by heart, they abound, as did this, in novel arguments, splendid sophistry, expressed in terse phrases, sparkling epigram, and rounded periods. But his speech on Friday was not so much in favour of the amendment as against all extension of the franchise, except in certain boroughs, such as Rochdale, in which he thinks skilled labour tends to create a superior class of artisans, whose numbers alone would be some safeguard against bribery. Sir Bulwer’s case was very plausibly put. It is the boroughs that in the main rule the country. Though a majority of them are not ostensibly handed over to the working classes by this Bill, the 7/-franchise will soon become equivalent, by a rise in rents and a new style of houses, to a 6/-qualification, the wage class will flock in increasing numbers through the open doors, and in three or four years they will have a preponderance. Thus the urban working class “will ultimately become the arbiters of all that concerns the system of this elaborate monarchy and this commercial commonwealth.” Though having himself no absolute and abstract horror of democracy, it would be a ruinous experiment in England, where a great population co-existed with a limited area of soil, commerce was based upon credit and national *prestige*, and where strong religious differences made it “impossible to precede democracy by that universal and general system of education without which it would be madness to make the working class the sovereign constituency of a Legislative Assembly.” The Bill before them did not, indeed, create a democracy, but was the inevitable step to it, “and it is received and understood as such by its enthusiastic supporters out of doors, who, laughing at it as a settlement of the question, hail and applaud it as an installation of the principle to which absolute democracy is the only goal.” And they—not only the Conservatives but the moderate Liberals—were called on abjectly to pass the Bill by “a Government that has not even the courage of its own opinions, for it does not dare to invite to its Cabinet the powerful orator who tells it the way to go; and thus, at least, make him responsible to his Sovereign for the counsels he dictates to her Ministers.” (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

It was unfortunate for Sir Bulwer Lytton, and the phantasmagoria which he had created, that he was followed by Mr. John Stuart Mill—that the keen philosopher succeeded the brilliant sophist. The member for Westminster on this occasion splendidly vindicated the trust reposed in him by his constituents by delivering a speech which for broad, elevated views, ripe wisdom, luminous common sense, and quiet satire, has rarely been surpassed

in the House of Commons. Mr. Mill said he accepted the extension of the franchise as a good in itself, in common with all genuine reformers, "who were," he remarked with a master stroke of irony, "as sincerely desirous as the noble mover of the amendment could be that family and pocket boroughs should be extinguished, and that the power of some noble and opulent families should be curtailed." Representation of classes was a Conservative not a Radical dogma, therefore this measure should have their support. And because Mr. Mill argued from the standpoint of his opponents, the *Times* very coolly charges him with advocating, though he repudiated, their theory of constitutional Government. He accepted the Bill because it made the working classes a substantial power in that House, but how even if they got two hundred seats—though he did not believe fifty of them would in any class sense represent them—they were to prevail, even if unanimous, against the other two-thirds, *plus* all the property of the country, he could not understand. To have a share in the Government of the country would be for them an excellent education, correct their crude theories, and soften their antagonism. These and other arguments, urged more than twenty years ago in the columns of this paper, were put by Mr. Mill with his usual clearness and felicity of diction. He did not deny that great reforms had been effected of late years. But Mr. Mill did not found on that a claim for the governing classes to have a monopoly of legislation, still less did he flatter them. They had their reward, in that doing no harm they were not hated as other privileged classes sometimes had been. But was that all that the legislature of this country could offer to the people?

Were they to be content with only undoing the mischief which they and their predecessors had done in former times? Were not all the great and crying evils of an old and crowded state of society waiting to be grappled with? (Hear, hear.) The curse of ignorance, the curse of pauperism, the curse of disease, the curse of a population bred and nurtured in crime—all these things they were just beginning to think of—just touching, as it were, with the tips of their fingers. And by the time that two or three more generations were dead and gone, they would perhaps have found out the way to cope with those evils and to make their countrymen's lives a little more worth having. He could not help thinking they would make more progress in that good work if they had the classes who were the chief sufferers from the chronic maladies of our civilisation regularly among them to stimulate their zeal as well as add to their knowledge. (Hear, hear.)

This is very different from the ordinary talk of the House of Commons—different especially in the breadth of its statesmanship and the manliness of its spirit—and we are not surprised to learn that Mr. Mill's speech produced a great effect upon thinking men, and even gave new light to the official mind, and strengthened the nerves of Sir George Grey. The utter falseness of Mr. Lowe's position on this question could hardly have been better and (for him) more pleasantly shown than by Mr. Mill's remark, that if those whose children they voted money to educate had been sufficiently represented in that House, he would never have had to resign his office through the Revised Code, for they would have seen in him an administrator of a public fund who was honestly desirous that the work for which the public paid should be good and honest. Are the disinterested praises of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Mill as agreeable to Mr. Lowe as the loud-mouthed plaudits of the squires?

Sir G. Grey and Mr. Laing closed the day's debate, which ended exactly at midnight, out of consideration for the Speaker. The Home Secretary was stung into considerable animation. The *Times* insinuates that the right hon. baronet, usually so placid and placable, lost his temper, but the circumstances around him were calculated to arouse the most torpid occupant of the Treasury Bench. Sir George Grey gave some hard hits, and may be figuratively said to have floored General Peel; but his usual signs of vacillation seemed to appear at the last—such as the hint of a compromise, "on mere minor details" with the Opposition—and will make people contented that a Gladstone rather than a Grey leads the House on this question. The member for Wick harped upon the somewhat stale idea that by the Government Bill the British Constitution was in danger of being swept away by the tide of democratic violence—a topic which Mr. Lowe has made his own—and found such vague prophecies more easy than an attempt to grapple with the strong arguments of Mr. Mill, whose speech Mr. Laing did not even allude to.

With somewhat of weariness the House entered upon the third night of the debate on Monday, but the Opposition was in good spirits at the accession of two new recruits, Lord Dunkellin and Mr. McKenna, both Irish members, and both unconvinced by Mr. Maguire's hearty opening speech in favour of the Bill. Mr. W. E. Forster spoke in support of the proposed extension of the franchise with the authority of a man whose opinions were the result of very wide observation of the working classes. Those whom it was proposed to admit, at least in the great manufacturing towns, were, he said, hardworking heads of families, skilled arti-

sahs—men who exhibit much self-denial in order to be able to lodge their families in houses somewhat better than those about them—men as far removed from the general notion of a mob as it would be possible to conceive. If they extended the suffrage, they must take a section, a rude slice; and even looking at the question from the most Conservative point of view, they could not get a safer slice than that now offered, and which was, in fact, a slice from the top. These working-men were as loyal as any other class of Her Majesty's subjects, and so far from being too democratic, they have a great respect for authority, and were more independent than the small shopkeeper. Mr. Forster replied with great conclusiveness to the plea that these people would, at some future time, become so numerous and influential as politically to swamp all the other classes of the community. It is impossible to resist the force of the following statement:—

What, I ask, is to be the mysterious bond of union amongst these men who have never acted in union before, and who in the nine boroughs in which they are known to have the majority have returned members to sit on the opposite benches? I can understand but one bond of union. It has been urged outside of this House that the men who now strike for wages will soon begin to strike for political power. We who are employers know how difficult it is to maintain those trade organisations, and we are not afraid of them, and we think it a delusion to imagine that there can be any political union got up between the miners of Cornwall, the masons of London, and the mill-hands of the north. But I would not say so much if you persist in withholding the franchise. If you keep the receivers of wages from the franchise because they are wages-receivers, you then give them a real bond of union. (Hear, hear.) They are in fact excluded at this moment. I know the returns give a total of 120,000 working men as exercising the franchise, but if you take from that number the men who keep shops, or who work at home and keep apprentices, you will find the actual number of wage-receivers to be much smaller, so small as to make the class of wage-receivers to be more excluded from the franchise than any other class in the community. If you continue to keep them excluded you will give them a real bond of union, and if you keep them excluded too long you may at last induce them to make the trades union a political engine. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") As a buyer of labour myself, I say that you could not take a more effectual mode to embitter the question. (Hear, hear.)

This argument of Mr. Forster goes to the very root of the whole question, and he very justly said that it was not the cause of Radical Reform which would suffer by the rejection of the Bill. After some intermediate speakers, Mr. Adderley took some pains to show that the Conservatives were not opposed to Reform altogether, and Mr. Layard felt it incumbent upon him to answer everybody, and thus produced a patchwork speech which, though containing some good hits, irritated many, probably convinced none, and brought down upon himself the keen sarcasm of Sir Hugh Cairns, whose inordinately lengthened oration was a feat in dialectics more worthy of a Chancery barrister than a statesman, and kept the House in suspense for two hours beyond midnight.

The Lords have surrendered at discretion on the Oaths Bill. On Monday, as the result of a recent Conservative meeting at the Marquis of Salisbury's, the second reading of the measure was allowed to pass *en bloc*. Lord Derby took some slight revenge for being obliged to "unmuzzle" the Catholics by an attack on Mr. Bright, whose power in the State must be omnipotent, if we are to judge by the incessant and virulent assaults made upon him. It would be childish to regard the course taken by the Tory peers otherwise than as a concession to fear. With a Reform Bill pending, they could hardly as prudent men do otherwise, and can scarcely be said to deserve either credit or thanks.

#### WORRY.

WE believe it to be a very common opinion that, *ceteris paribus*, a man is better qualified to write upon a subject for knowing something about it. We confess we are beginning to suspect that the opinion is very nearly related to a vulgar prejudice. At any rate, the philosophy of the age quietly and rather contemptuously cuts it. Some of the most eloquent things we ever read, some of the most dogmatic, and, we fear we must add, some of the most successful, have been things written on subjects about which very little, if anything, can be really known, and which, on that very account, present an unbounded field for imaginative and daring speculation—sometimes, too, for an excursion of ill-temper. We are instructed on a wearisome number of objects, in the present day, and that with an air of incontestable authority, of which we are quite satisfied that there is as yet no knowledge whatever among men in this stage of their being. What is said of them, may or may not be true, but can be properly classed only as a more or less happy guess at truth. Who will deny, however, that men of strong-willed intellect, and of high culture, occasionally write marvellously, bewitchingly, confidently—nay, vauntingly, upon matters of which they are utterly ignorant, or rather upon certain fancies entertained of them?

No, no! it is a mistake to suppose that actual acquaintance with a subject is an indispensable qualification for writing upon it, and we appeal to the bulk of what is written in confirmation of our remark.

This, however, is beside the mark. We were going to say, if it can be accepted as the slightest recommendation of what may follow, that the present writer has chosen a topic with many of the aspects of which he has been, if he is not now, thoroughly familiar. Why, in early days, when youth indulges in day-dreams, and expects the current of life to flow on unripped, he who now dons with fresh sense of dignity the editorial "we," was doomed, although strangely unfit for the task, to look after, and keep in decent order, a score or two of schoolboys, and to be held responsible for their behaviour. Well, if ever a man becomes personally, and, as divines would say, experimentally, conversant with "worry," it is when engaged in teaching "the young idea how to shoot," especially if he is a little infirm of temper. The work is, no doubt, a right noble one, and full of genial interest to those who take to it kindly and of choice—but to any who have it forced upon them against their will, as we had, it is like trying to read in your garden, with a swarm of gnats about your ears. Now, we have passed through that experience, both as it regards boys and gnats, and we hold ourselves, therefore, quite competent to deal with the subject.

There are two kinds of worry—regard being had to the source from which it springs. There is a worry which comes upon us *ab extra*, and a worry that puts itself forth *ab intra*—a worry the cause of which is in our affairs, and a worry which may be traced to its origin in our disposition. Essentially, however, both kinds are one, the variety being that of phase only, not of character. Worry is the irritation of the will, excited by a consciousness of inability to govern circumstances which in their relation to us are either uncertain or future. It is "taking thought" to do something which is beyond our power to do, such, for instance, as "adding a cubit to the stature," and indulging a resentful feeling at our own helplessness. All worry occupies itself about something in suspense, and tries by means known to be not merely inadequate, but palpably futile, to determine that suspense. A man aims a bowl at the jack, and after he has launched it from his hand, writhes and twists his body this way or that, according to the course which the bowl takes, as if he would thereby guide its motion. Now this incident, which everybody must have observed, supplies just the material we want for a tolerably precise representation of the distinctive nature of worry. It is that contortion of the will in the presence of circumstances which it cannot do anything to control, which is pictorially figured to us by the swaying to and fro of the body in the presence of the bowls after they have left the player's hand. It is almost involuntary, and is yet capable of being prevented.

It may come upon us, as we have said, from without, that is, the state of our affairs may be such as offers us little but uncertainties to engage our thoughts. They in whose welfare we take the liveliest interest, and who, perhaps, for many years, have been under our guidance as if they were part of ourselves, are gone forth from us, gone for awhile clean out of our sight, gone, it may be, into danger, or, at least, into what we apprehend to be danger; and our yearnings and our sympathies are sent after them, as the dove was sent out of the ark, and, however they may soar aloft, and look afar, nothing is visible to them but a wide waste of desolation—no mark, no event, no hint even, from which they may gather how it fares with the absent ones, wherever they may be. Or, more common, the demands made upon our means grow more rapidly than our means themselves, and, however tolerable may be the present lot, the future, as seen by our apprehensions, seems to be crowded with conditions that cannot be endured. Or, even worse, a life which we had all but identified with our own may be slipping down a glissade of self-indulgence into the yawning chasm of darkness, and we see, we are horrified, we get into an agony, but we cannot help. These are among the graver instances of the external arrangements of our affairs which, quite irrespectively of our conduct, and in no respect perhaps touching our responsibility, call out into useless effort the will which is crossed by them, and makes it rebel under a sense of its own impotence. In such instances, the worry ceases, of course, when the suspense ceases.

But there is also a worry which springs from within—a defect, partly of the nerves, partly of

habit—a sort of unhealthy craving after something over which the will may fret itself, and, like an impatient steed paw the ground, and champ the bit, and put itself into every attitude of restlessness. It is clearly a case of disease—but whether physical or moral, whether a misfortune to be pitied or a fault to be censured, it is not always easy to determine. It is, however, infectious, whatever may be its seat, and it requires an unusual placidity of disposition or strength of faith in such as live in close contact with one afflicted with the worries, not to catch the disorder. As to the modes in which the malady may exhibit itself, they are endless in their diversity—sometimes pathetic, sometimes ridiculous, sometimes sordid, sometimes grotesque. Men and women given over to worry, will worry about the strangest, the most out-of-the-way, the most unheard-of, the most laughable things it is possible to conceive. It matters very little what are the outward circumstances—the will can find something in them to remind it of its own limitation of power, and to provoke its consequent resentment. It is curious to see how people of this habit will take anything that first comes to hand—good, bad, or indifferent—and instantly begin to find in it something to grow anxious and impatient over, and to pull about first on this side and then on that, until an exciting consciousness of their own inability to do anything in the matter, and an irritated feeling in consequence of it, get the upperhand of their good sense.

What we have to say upon this subject by way of practical suggestion is just what everybody says, and says to little or no purpose. Worry doesn't do you the least good. It relieves from nothing, it helps nothing, it qualifies for no work, it conduces to no desirable result. It very gratuitously puts an immense amount of wear and tear upon the nervous system without in the slightest degree obtaining in return any compensatory satisfaction. It is neither a duty nor a pleasure, and yet men almost invite, certainly entertain it, as if it were both. What is to be said in such a case? So far as it is a matter of temperament it really appeals to us for pity—so far as it results from habit it deserves unceremonious rebuke. But, we are afraid, neither the one nor the other will do much good. There is but one remedial method to which value can be attached—that which elicits trust, to the whole extent of that trust, destroys suspense, and therefore kills worry. A trust which covers everything in life and death, present and future, is what human nature needs in order to "perfect peace"—and every day's experience teaches the truth of the declaration, "This is the victory which overcometh the world, even your faith." When we can lay hold of, and lean upon, almighty, we feel no irritation in the fullest consciousness of our own impotence. When we are content that our affairs should be managed for us, we are the less impatient that we cannot manage them for ourselves. There is sound philosophy in the apostolic exhortation, "Beye worried about nothing—but in everything, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God—and the peace of God which passeth understanding shall keep your hearts and lives."

#### PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

(Continued from page 309.)

Sir BULWER LYTTON, who was received with loud cheers on rising, argued that the bill proposed a great transfer of power, and was therefore revolutionary. Already the working classes possessed a fourth of the franchise, and the calculation was that the provisions of the bill would give them about one-half. That calculation was well enough for the present year, but it did not represent the increase in the number of 7l. occupiers who would spring up hereafter; and a preponderance of the working classes would be created which Parliament never contemplated. Arguing that the franchise ought only to be given to the intelligent and trustworthy members of the working classes, and to them he would willingly accord it, he observed that, considering the position borough members held in the House, the operation of the bill would be to give them an undue predominance in the Legislature. Dwelling on the nature and effects of democracy, and admitting that it contained many elements of national advantage, he urged that it was adapted only to the youth of nations, and was inapplicable to the habits and institutions of an old country like England. He contended that one effect of this measure would be, that it would create discontent in the mind of every working man who still remained excluded from the franchise.

What, then, says the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Feeling very sensitive as to the tender ground on which he trod, he exclaims, "Are these applicants an invading army? Are they not fellow-Christians? Are they not your own flesh and blood?" (Hear, hear.) I must say I share in the amazement prevalent amongst the admirers of the right hon. gentleman that he should put forward an argument so hollow in itself, and so

perilous in its results—(Hear, hear)—so hollow in itself, because, suppose, for instance, I were to introduce a reform bill, in which I proposed to make a large addition to the borough members out of the agricultural element. When I thus proposed to introduce a number of honest farmers to whom you objected, would you think it a sufficient argument for me to say, "Are they not your own flesh and blood?"—(laughter and cheers)—you might answer naturally, and with less civility than we do now, "Oh, that may be very fine, but the minds and opinions of one set of Christians are not to be overborne by the flesh and blood of another set of Christians." (Cheers and counter cheers.) What a perilous argument, then, is this. (Hear, hear.) What an irrelevant platitude to fall from the lips of a man in high authority, and the Liberal journals say that that platitude is to be inscribed on the banners of democratic reform. (Hear, hear.) I will assume—and perhaps the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will deign to correct me if I am wrong—I will assume that he is not in favour of universal suffrage. But how is he to resist it consistently with his own inscription on his own banners of reform? (Hear, hear.) What will he say to those millions who will very soon ask, "Are we an invading army?—are we not fellow Christians? are we not your own flesh and blood?" Does the right hon. gentleman think that they will accept for answer that kind of modified opinion he put forth last night? "Well, that is very true for my part, in my individual capacity." (Opposition cheers.) There is no danger in admitting you, but still it might be wiser to proceed by gradual steps." (Derisive cheering and laughter.) A 7l. voter, then, is real flesh and blood, but those below that are only gradual flesh and blood. (Laughter and cheers.) This might form matter for a fresh chapter by Darwin in his *Origin of Species*. Only think of fellow Christians and fellow-subjects in an imperfect state of development! (Renewed laughter.)

He elaborately argued against the predominant influence of any class in Parliament, and by consequence of the working class, urged that there was no security that a bill for the redistribution of seats would follow this bill, and warned the moderate Liberals against the bill:—

May I address to them the pathetic warning addressed to them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "Be wise, and be wise in time." (Cheers.) Be wise before you cross the Rubicon and burn your boats. (Renewed cheering.) Sir, there is a story of a celebrated French preacher who, in delivering a sermon upon the duty of wives, said, "I see opposite in the congregation a woman who has been guilty of the sin of disobedience to her husband, and in order to point her out to universal condemnation I will fling my breviary at her head." He lifted his book, and every female head instantly ducked. (Loud laughter and cheers.) I will not name those who I think are guilty of detesting this bill in heart and yet mean to vote for it; but if I wished to point them out to universal condemnation, and if the rules of Parliament would permit me to fling this book at their heads, so many heads opposite would duck and dive that nothing short of a general amnesty could cover the multitude. (Laughter and cheers.) Sir, I am the last man to disparage loyalty to party. It makes us all subordinate our individual opinions to the decision of those whom we recognise as our leaders. I do not for a moment impugn the perfect honour of any fellow-member who detests this bill and yet will vote for it; but I do think that gratitude and respect are due to that large portion of the Liberal party who, on a question so grave and involving consequences so irrevocable, prefer what they believe to be for the welfare of their country to blind submission to a government that has not even the courage to avow their own opinions—and that does not dare to invite to their councils the powerful oracle who tells them the way that they should go, and so make him responsible to the Sovereign for the counsel which he dictates to her Minister. (Loud cheering.) For my own part, I can honestly say that, looking to the nature of this bill, to the mode in which it is introduced to Parliament, and to the arguments by which it is defended, my vote against it will be given, not as Conservative against Liberal, not as employer against workman, not as Englishman against Englishman, but as an Englishman, for the safety of our common England. (Vehement and long-continued cheering.)

Mr. J. S. MILL said that Lord Stanley, who had said the worst and the best that could be said against this bill, had pointed out as the extreme danger of proceeding with it the chance that a measure for the redistribution of seats might be dealt with by a House elected under an extended franchise. That argument could have no weight with those who wished an increase of the suffrage, for they would think that such a House would be best qualified to deal with its constitution. This formidable one chance in a thousand with which the noble lord threatened them was only terrific to those in whose eyes the bill was a rash and portentous transfer of power to the working classes. To those who thought that the enfranchising provisions were good in themselves, even if there were no redistribution of seats, and still better if there was, this phantom of evil had no terrors. And that he believed to be the opinion of the great body of reformers in and out of the House. That was not a democratic measure—the corollary of the numerical theory of representation—but the result of the class theory, the favourite doctrine of Conservative non-reformers. The bill was this theory applied to practice.

We claim then a large and liberal representation of the working classes, on the Conservative theory of the constitution. We demand that they be represented as a class, if represented they cannot be as human beings; and we call on hon. gentlemen to prove the sincerity of their convictions by extending the benefit of them to the great majority of their countrymen. (Cheers.) But hon. gentlemen say, the working classes are already represented. It has just come to light, to the astonishment of everybody, that these classes actually form 26 per cent. of the borough constituencies. They kept the secret so well—it required so much research to detect their presence on the register—their votes were so devoid of any traceable consequence—they had all this power of shaking our institutions, and so obstinately persisted in not doing it—(loud cheers)—that hon.

gentlemen are quite alarmed, and recoil in terror from the abyss into which they have not fallen. (Renewed cheers and laughter.) Well, sir, it certainly seems that this amount of enfranchisement of the working classes has done no harm. But if it has not done harm, perhaps it has not done much good either; at least, not the kind of good which we are talking about. A class may have a great number of votes in every constituency in the kingdom, and not obtain a single representative in this House. Their right of voting may be only the right of being everywhere outvoted. If, indeed, the mechanism of an electoral system admitted representation of minorities; if those who are outvoted in one place could join their votes with those who are outvoted in another; then, indeed, a fourth part, even if only of the borough electors, would be a substantial power, for it would mean a fourth of the borough representatives. Twenty-six per cent. concentrated would be a considerable representation; but 26 per cent. diffused may be almost the same as none at all. The right hon. baronet has said that a class, though but a minority, may, by cleverly managing its votes, be master of the situation, and that the tenant farmers in Herefordshire can carry an election. They may be able to decide whether a Tory or a Whig shall be elected; they may be masters of so small a situation as that. (Laughter.) But what you are afraid of is their carrying points on which their interest as a class is opposed to that of all other classes, in which if they were only a third of the constituency the other two-thirds would be against them. Do you think they would be masters of such a situation as that?—(cheers)—for there is no known contrivance by which in the long run a minority can outnumber a majority—by which one-third of the electors can outnumber the other two-thirds. The real share of the working-classes in the representation is measured by the number of members they can return—in other words, the number of constituencies in which they are the majority, and even that only marks the extreme limit of the influence which they can exercise, but by no means that which they will. (Hear.)

In some constituencies the working classes were in a majority, as in Coventry, where they sometimes returned Conservatives.

Where working men muster strong in a constituency, what manner of men are those whom they vote for? Usually, great employers of labour; many of whom have every possible claim to be elected except that of representing the class interests of working men, being drawn from the very class with whose mere class interests those of the working men come oftenest into collision. Even if the franchise were so much enlarged that the working men, by polling their whole strength, could return by small majorities 200 out of the 658 members of this House, there would not be fifty of that number who would represent the distinctive feelings and opinions of working men, or would be, in any class sense, their representatives. (Hear, hear.) And what if they had the whole 200? Even then, on any subject in which they were concerned as a class, there would be more than two to one against them when they were in the wrong. They could not succeed in anything even when unanimous, unless they carried with them nearly a third of the representatives of the other classes; and if they did that, there would be, I think, a very strong presumption of their being in the right. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) As a matter of principle, then, and not only on Liberal principles, but on those of the Conservative party, the case in favour of the bill seems irresistible. (Loud cheers.)

It was said they should not proceed on *a priori* argument, but be practical. Well, suppose they were to say, that if the working classes had been represented, it would not have been found so easy for hon. gentlemen whose cattle were slaughtered by Act of Parliament to get compensated twice over—(cheers and laughter)—once by a rate, and again by a rise of price? Great things had been done by the legislature since the Reform Act of 1832. Whether the practical improvement that would follow a further Parliamentary Reform would be equal to these the future must disclose; but whatever they might be they were not at the present time regarded as improvements by the House, for if the House thought so there was nothing to hinder it from adopting them. It would be good for the House to have an infusion of the working man element—for did any of them understand fully all their questions?

I grant that, along with many just ideas and much valuable knowledge, you would sometimes find pressed upon you erroneous opinions—mistaken views of what is for the interest of labour; and I am not prepared to say that if the labouring classes were predominant in the House attempts might not be made to carry some of these wrong notions into practice. But there is no question at present about making the working classes predominant. What is asked is a sufficient representation to ensure that their opinions are fairly placed before the House, and are met by real arguments, addressed to their own reason, by people who can enter into their way of looking at the subjects in which they are concerned. (Cheers.) In general, those who attempt to correct the errors of the working classes do it as if they were talking to babies. (Cheers.) They think any trivialities sufficient; if they condescend to argue, it is from premises which hardly any working man would admit: they expect that the things which appear self-evident to them will appear self-evident to the working classes: their arguments never reach the mark, never come near what a working man has in his mind, because they do not know what is in his mind.

It was not a fault of democracy to be obstinate in error, and working men—the educated artisans—were teachable, as a rule more in earnest than any other class, and could bear to be told of their faults.

I can hardly conceive a nobler course of national education than the debates of this House would become, if the notions, right and wrong, which are fermenting in the minds of the working classes, many of which go down very deep into the foundations of society and government, were fairly stated and genuinely discussed within these walls. It has often been noticed how readily in a free country people resign themselves even to the refusal of what they ask, when everything which they would have said for themselves has been said by somebody in the course of the discussion. (Hear, hear.)

The working classes have never yet had this tranquillising assurance. They have always felt that not they themselves, perhaps, but their opinions, were prejudged—were condemned without being listened to. But let them have the same equal opportunities which others have of pleading their own cause—let them feel that the contest is one of reason, and not of power—and if they do not obtain what they desire, they will as readily acquiesce in defeat, or trust to the mere progress of reason for reversing the verdict, as any other portion of the community—(cheers)—and they will, much oftener than at present, obtain what they desire.

No doubt there had been of late years good legislation, and the reward of the aristocracy was that they were not hated as other privileged classes had been, and that was the fitting reward for ceasing to do harm, for merely repealing bad laws which Parliament itself had made. (Cheers.) But was that all that the legislature of a country like theirs could offer to its people?

Of all great public objects, the one which would be most forwarded by the presence of working people's representatives in this house is the one in which we flatter ourselves we have done most—popular education. Very few years of a real working class representation would have passed over our heads before there would be in every parish a school-rate, and the school doors freely open to all the world; and in one generation from that time England would be an educated nation. Will it ever become so by your present plan, which gives to him that hath, and only to him that hath? Never. If there were no reason for extending the franchise to the working classes except the stimulus it would give to this one alone of the imperial works which the present state of society urgently demands from Parliament, the reason would be more than sufficient.

Mr. Mill sat down amid loud cheers, and many members, as they passed down the gangway, close to where the hon. member sits, shook hands with him in congratulation for his able address.

Mr. Liddell, Mr. Selwyn, and Lord Robert Montagu supported the amendment, and Mr. Hanbury and Sir F. Goldsmid opposed it.

Sir George Grey complained of the course pursued by the Opposition, who were afraid of raising the direct issue, and seized on the amendment merely as a means of embarrassing the Government. In the course of the debate the amendment had been almost lost sight of. The noble lord who spoke last had scarcely alluded to it, and in the two remarkable speeches which the House must have listened to with interest and admiration in the early part of the sitting, the one by the right hon. member for Hertfordshire, and the other by the hon. member for Westminster—(cheers)—it was passed over in a few words as not worthy of serious debate. Those speeches were both directed to the main principle, the one decidedly opposed and the other was a most able and interesting argument in its favour. (Cheers.) He did not before know that the cry at the last election was "Palmerston and no Reform." He had read many of the addresses of the candidates on both sides, and he believed that a majority of the members that were returned had pledged themselves—(cheers)—to a consideration of this question of reform with a view to its final and satisfactory settlement. (Cheers and counter cheers.) And the Government had endeavoured to carry out that decision.

A great deal had been said about physical force; but there was not the slightest ground for attributing to the working classes any intention of resorting to it. (Loud Opposition cheers.) The reason was that they knew what Parliament had already done for them, and they had confidence in the justice of the House. (Cheers.) In the country the bill had been looked upon as the honest and sincere desire for a settlement. (Hear, hear.) Was there a sincere and honest desire on the part of the House to settle the question? (Hear, hear.) Without speaking in the way of threat he thought it would be dangerous if they trifled with the question. The resolution of the noble lord could only have the effect of an indefinite postponement. The noble lord (Grosvenor) said that there was no possibility of settling this question until it was taken out of the domain of party and referred to some dispassionate tribunal, such as a committee of the Privy Council. The noble lord also said it would be impossible to pass a Reform Bill if it did not please both sides of the House. But this debate showed an irreconcileable difference of opinion on the subject. Compromises had been talked of, but compromises, even on matters of detail, and not of principle, should be made in the face of day and before the country. He asked hon. members to declare the principle on which they acted. If they changed their course they should do so openly, manfully, and avowedly. (Cheers.) If the House agreed to a resolution hostile to the principle on which the Government acted they would be quite willing to bow to that decision, but hon. members should not resort to indirect means for accomplishing that object. Such a course was not honourable to a great party. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LAING said the real issue was, whether that question should be settled in a democratic or a constitutional manner. He conceived that the present circumstances of this subject constituted a great crisis and turning-point in the political history of the country; and he proceeded to express all possible sympathy with the working classes, but to intimate that with all their good qualities he could not concede to them rights which, by means of their numbers, would enable them to obtain political pre-eminence over every other class in the country, and hinted at the approach of Socialism as a consequence of this measure.

The debate was then adjourned at a quarter past twelve o'clock.

#### ELECTION COMMITTEE.

On Monday the report of the Reigate election committee was brought up, and stated that Mr. Granville

William Leveson-Gower was not duly elected, that the election was void, and that Mr. Gower had by his agents been guilty of bribery.

The Cambridge election committee also reported that Mr. Forsyth was not duly returned, and that the election was void.

#### REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

Mr. MARSH asked whether the Government had come to any final determination with regard to the promised bill for the redistribution of seats; what boroughs, if any, are to be amalgamated with others; what, if any, are to be totally disfranchised; what are to be partially disfranchised, and how the seats taken from those boroughs are to be distributed; and whether it is the intention of the Government to keep its views on these subjects concealed from members of the House until after the discussion on the present bill.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that he was not in the habit of stating the final determination of the Government until he did so in the form of a measure; as to the second question, that could not be answered *viva voce*, but only by the provisions of the bill; and as to the third question, which implied that he could not do what he had said he would do, he must postpone his answer until he addressed the House on the amendment now before it.

#### THE MALT-TAX.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER asked Sir F. Kelly whether he would consent to postpone his motion on the malt-tax, which stood for that day, in favour of the debate on the Franchise Bill. Sir F. Kelly said he would do so if the Government would give him a day for his motion before the introduction of the budget. The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER being unable to pledge himself to that, Sir F. Kelly said he must bring on his motion. (Opposition cheers.)

#### THE REFORM BILL.—ADJOURNED DEBATE.

On Monday Mr. MAGUIRE opened the debate, directing a battery of quotations, chiefly from speeches delivered some time ago, against Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman. Mr. LOWE obtained a cheer by pointing out to Mr. Maguire that the franchise which he boasted in 1852 of having obtained for Australia was a 10/- franchise. Mr. MAGUIRE got rather upon more general ground by defending the effects of democracy as exhibited in Victoria, both in its material resources and in the state of education and political life. He repudiated the notion that Free-trade would be endangered in England by an extension of the franchise as one of the wildest theories that ever entered into the mind of man, and concluded by arguing that Government was right in bringing in the franchise question separately, as being the point of most importance. Lord DUNKELLIN next defended the amendment at some length, pointing out the incompleteness of the measure and the impossibility of its being taken for a final settlement. It had been said that the Government should not go on renewing its bills; he replied that that was a better plan than paying by a blank cheque. He said that the omission of the ratemaking clause took away the only stop which could prevent us from going down hill.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER then addressed the House in the most effective speech delivered during the evening on the Ministerial side. As he spoke from about seven till nearly eight, the House was thin, but the remaining members listened with the marked respect which his straightforward manner always inspires. He said, in answer to Lord Stanley, that the argument that the present bill would aggravate the evils of small constituencies was an argument, not against the bill, but against small constituencies. The most interesting and the longest part of his speech consisted, however, of an account of his personal experience of working men in the North, to which we have elsewhere referred. He said towards the conclusion of his speech he expected that this bill would be final, because it was difficult to get a poor man to leave his daily labour for purposes of agitation, and the present might possibly be found to act as a self-adjusting measure; but if the present offer were declined the non-electors would probably combine, and the *onus probandi* argument as stated by them would be found harder to answer than when put forward by Mr. Gladstone.

The hours devoted by the majority of members to dining were occupied in the House by speeches from Sir J. Simeon and Sir F. Crossley in favour of the bill, from Mr. J. Lowther against it, and from Mr. McKenna in support of the amendment without reference to Reform, but really as a vote of want of confidence in the Irish administration of the Government.

Mr. ADDERLEY, in a speech which gradually showed much excitement, argued that the present bill, taken by itself, involved the "suppression of the agricultural interest." He confirmed this by statistics which he had collected from the counties of Staffordshire and Warwickshire, showing, as he contended, that there were already a large number of working men in the county constituencies, and that the proposed addition of copyholders and leaseholders would swamp the upper classes. He found fault with Mr. Gladstone very energetically for attributing to the Conservatives the expressions of a "contamination" of the constituencies by the admission of working men, of a "fly in a pot of ointment," and of the "invasion," as applied to the same subject, amidst loud cheers from his party; and he wound up by a very warm attack upon Mr. Bright for his "exasperation" of the working classes against the landed interest, asking Mr. Bright whether he thought that he would himself be

corrupted by the sudden possession of a large landed property.

Mr. LAYARD then made a lengthy speech which gradually degenerated into a discharge of angry and reckless personalities. His argument, as far as there was any in his speech, was directed to controvert Lord Stanley's views, and to defend the working classes. He said that Lord Stanley had spoken of the possibility that the present plan would be interpreted as giving facilities for dealing about seats, and had alleged as a case in point the Reform Bill of 1832; but that illustration itself proved that there might be the same dealing if, as Lord Stanley wished, the whole measure had been introduced at once. He argued, amidst cries of assent from the Opposition, that the working classes should be admitted, and said that he should be glad to see Mr. Odgers and Mr. Potter in the House. He charged members opposite, amidst loud cries of "No, no," "Question," and two or three appeals to order, with having been favourable to war for Denmark and the South, as an answer to the statement that the working classes had been inclined for those wars. He spoke of his experiences in Italy, and the freedom from corruption and expense of the elections there. He compared the use made by the Opposition of Mr. Bright's name to the popular game of *Aunt Sally*, Mr. Bright having been blackened and a bill put in his mouth for the Opposition to aim their speeches at. He panegyrised the working classes in general and those of Southwark in particular. Cries of "Divide!" assailed him towards the end of his speech, but he was supported by cheers from his own party, and persisted in his pugnacious performance till about half-past eleven.

Sir H. CAIRNS replied, commencing his remarks with some good tempered retorts aimed at Mr. Layard, especially with regard to the desire for war imputed by that gentleman to the ruling classes. For his own part he denied explicitly that he had ever urged hostilities against America. He then undertook an argument of some length to place, as he said, the amendment in a clear light. He examined the theory of the Constitution in a long and rather abstract discussion, which might have been dull but for the clearness of his style and the excellence of his voice; coming to the conclusion that fitness was only a subsidiary consideration, not of itself sufficient to give a claim to the franchise, the main point being the preservation of a due balance between different classes. But the House could not tell what would be the effect of this bill, until it knew what were the proposals of the Redistribution Bill. The number of voters to be admitted by the Franchise Bill must necessarily depend on the extent of the area within which the two standards of franchise—borough and county—were to prevail. How could they possibly ascertain the number of voters without knowing what the constituencies were to be? To say that the new Parliament, being fit to deal with taxation and other important matters, would be equally fit to settle the redistribution of seats, was begging the whole question. What had to be shown was that such a Parliament would be an improvement. He doubted the honesty of the Ministerial tactics in this case. They had taken Mr. Bright's advice to separate the franchise and redistribution. It was to be presumed, therefore, that they sympathised with Mr. Bright's object, which was to use the former bill as a lever for the purpose of getting a more sweeping measure in regard to redistribution. The debate was adjourned till Thursday on the motion of Mr. Graham.

#### REFORM DEBATE SKETCHES.

MR. GLADSTONE'S SPEECH, not altogether expected by the uninitiated, was a masterpiece. He did not speak very long, but he spoke fast. His words flowed in a continuous stream, but though intent on the main argument, he was intensely alive to what was passing, and never missed a single retort. Sometimes he leaned on the table, sometimes he faced about and spoke to his supporters immediately behind him, sometimes he looked towards Mr. Lowe. Occasionally, in the more vehement parts of his oration, he brought his hand down with a bang on the table. But generally he spoke with his voice and eyes—if the expression may be allowed. Even and anon the hyena-like yells of the Opposition broke forth, but they never failed to elicit a sharp and stinging response. The most dramatic parts of his oration were his criticism of the *Quarterly Review* and his attack on Mr. Lowe. The point of the former was this:—Lord Cranbourne is credibly suspected of being the author of the article in the *Quarterly*. He sat there in his usual place—cynical and saturnine, with malice in his very smile—and he stuck his head deeper into his chest when Mr. Gladstone tore up the so-called history of the Reform Bill in the *Quarterly*. Lord Cranbourne's friends evidently understood the sting of the speech, for Lord Robert Montagu—he is a prim, goodlooking man, and parts his hair in the middle—could not refrain from leaning forward, with a smirk on his face, to see how his noble friend bore the castigation. The House thoroughly understood and enjoyed the fun. Mr. Gladstone's attack on Mr. Lowe was superb. Mr. Lowe said he had been "understood" to make a calumnious assault on the working classes, and Mr. Gladstone's enunciation of the phrase "rightly understood" can only be appreciated in all its force by those who heard it. Nothing could have been more effective than the disposal of Mr. Lowe's assertions, either as facts or as arguments. When Mr. Lowe rose he was received with deafening cries by the Tories and the ever-faithful Marsh. He was white and trembling with

rage. Even his eyes started forth from under his brows, and his face did not wear its usual cynical smile. But he could only repeat the disingenuous explanation of his calumnious language which he had already made in print. He could only make that explanation by garbling his own speech. Mr. Owen Stanley's interruption on a point of order was fiercely resisted by the noisy gentlemen behind Mr. Disraeli, who had to wave his hand to still them, and make them respect the cries of "Order" from Speaker Denison himself.—*Leeds Mercury*.

THE MOVER AND SECONDER OF THE AMENDMENT.—Lord Grosvenor now moved his amendment. He is a decent-looking and evidently sincere young man, and I am bound to say made a dignified appearance, and some respectable hits. He spoke from copious notes; but though his speech was feeble, his air and bearing were dignified and conciliating. Mr. Bright listened throughout with an almost paternal smile on his face. Of course, the assiduous Marsh excepted, all the cheers came from the Opposition. Lord Stanley, who had been conning his notes sedulously all the evening, and a little nervously too, as it appeared, sprang to his feet, and made a really effective speech from his point of view. He is not an agreeable speaker, from causes not under his own control, but he was, as he always is, respectfully listened to. Once, when Mr. Bright interrupted him, the Tories yelled their heartiest, and had to be stilled by the Speaker. There was something almost of menace in the tone in which Mr. Disraeli, addressing Mr. Bright, said, "Do you rise to order?" very different from the bland tones in which the Opposition chief had previously interrupted Mr. Gladstone. But Mr. Disraeli is the *fidus Achates* of Lord Stanley, and that may account for the difference, as well as for the pleased smile which his sullen countenance wore all the time his friend was speaking.—*Ibid.*

### Foreign and Colonial.

#### AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.

On the 7th inst. Austria addressed a note to the Prussian Government, energetically reiterating her previous denials of the Prussian assertions respecting Austrian armaments, and insisting upon the demobilisation of troops by Prussia in order to confirm the pacific declarations of that Power. To this note the Austrian Government received a reply on Sunday refusing to rescind the order for the mobilisation of the Prussian troops. It is believed that the Austrian army will, in consequence, be placed on a war footing. Official information received at Vienna testifies to the satisfactory behaviour of Napoleon on the pending question.

The report of an alleged treaty between Prussia and Italy is believed to be unfounded. One of the Vienna papers contradicts the statement that Signor Visconti Venosta, the newly-appointed Italian Ambassador to the Porte, will be entrusted with a special mission at Vienna on his way to Constantinople.

The Vienna *Presse* thinks that the recovery of Silesia from Prussia would be ample compensation for the surrender of Venetia. This project, it is said, finds favour in Vienna. The great thing is to bring the Emperor to accustom himself to think of ceding Venetia, which is most distasteful to him.

It is said that, in the event of war, volunteer corps will be formed at Prague, Vienna, Gratz, and Pesth, and that the Austrian Government intend issuing a paper currency in notes of one and two florins, which would be declared a legal tender. The total amount of this currency would be 100,000,000fl.

It is stated that Bavaria has sent to Berlin a second despatch, containing offers of mediation between Austria and Prussia.

According to the Vienna *Morgenpost*, the German Governments have unanimously determined, at the next sitting of the Federal Diet, to reject the Prussian proposition for the reform of the Diet. At the same time a motion is to be brought in requesting the Diet to summon Prussia to discontinue her armaments. Another report is that Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony have agreed to carry out a reform of the Federal Constitution without any reference to the success or non-success of the scheme proposed by Prussia.

The semi-official *Nord Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of Berlin contradicts the statement that Prussia intends to propose the convocation of the German Parliament for the 1st of September next. The same paper says that the proposal of Prussia is not merely a diplomatic move, but is the result of an irresistible necessity, and that, unless this proposal be carried out, the ruin of Germany is inevitable, as the question of the Duchies has shown.

At a meeting of the National Verein held at Berlin resolutions were unanimously adopted recommending the union of the military and naval forces of the Duchies with Prussia, and condemning the forcible annexation of the Duchies, as involving the danger of civil war in Germany, and the possible intervention of foreign Powers. It was also resolved that the Prussian proposal for a reform of the German Federal Constitution would only have a chance of success by the faithful observance of the Constitution on the part of Prussia itself.

On Sunday a crowded meeting was held at Berlin, at which the following resolutions were unanimously voted:—1. A war between Prussia and Austria would be a national misfortune. 2. A Liberal Prussian Ministry would alone command the general confidence required for Federal reform. 3. The inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein have an absolute right to dispose of their own future, such a popular right

forming the only moral and legal basis of any constitutional government."

The Berlin Chamber of Commerce has memorialised the King on the necessity of preserving peace lest the public prosperity might be stunted in its growth for many years to come.

In all Prussia and Germany peace meetings continue. Everywhere is the annexation policy demanded. In northern and central Germany, however, Prussia's claim to command the military forces of the Duchies is pretty generally acknowledged, and its actual realisation made dependent upon the voluntary assent of the Schleswig-Holsteiners and the institution of a Liberal Cabinet at Berlin. A meeting of Deputies at Carlsruhe has passed resolutions approving of the scheme of a German Parliament. Respecting this scheme, the Berlin correspondent of the *Times* writes:—

The proposal is but of a very indefinite nature, binding its originator to nothing, and leaving it open to annul the consequences at any moment, should the pacific attitude of his foreign adversaries render it unnecessary for him to indulge in such hazardous experiments, or should the King relieve him from the duty of trying to establish his military and diplomatic supremacy in the Duchies. Count Bismarck only announces that he would like to call a common Germanic Parliament on the basis of universal suffrage. He does not say what rights are to be invested in that Parliament, what bills are to be laid before it, and how the Executive is to be organised. He leaves all to be settled by the various Governments, which he is well aware will never agree, the smallest among them being desirous to maintain their independence, the "middle" ones to strengthen themselves at the expense of their weaker neighbours, and the two larger to establish their supremacy over the whole.

The party most determinately opposed to the scheme are the Count's own Conservative friends; with them this last move has materially shaken his prestige. There have been rumours, apparently unfounded, of his illness and resignation.

After a few days' canvassing at Munich, Hanover, Cassel, Carlsruhe, &c., the Austrian Government ascertained the disagreeable, and, it seems, unexpected fact, that in a Prussian war it could not count with any certainty upon the assistance of the Bund as a whole. It therefore determined to postpone to a more favourable period the contemplated motion calling on the Federal Diet to decide on the quarrel with Prussia.

The official organ of the Bavarian Government says:—"The statements of some German papers that an understanding had been arrived at between Bavaria and Prussia respecting the proposals of the latter for a reform of the Federal Constitution, are entirely devoid of foundation. The Bavarian Government is as unacquainted with the nature of these proposals as are the governments of the other German States; but it is ready to examine them whenever they shall be submitted to its consideration."

As the present moment is so critical, says the Vienna correspondent of the *Times*, it may be well to state what forces the different German States can bring into the field. When on a full war footing the Austrian army consists of 579,000 men. The Prussian army, including the Landwehr, or militia, is composed of 566,150 men. In case of extreme need Bavaria can have an army of 90,000 men, but at present her whole available force is 59,948 men. The Hanoverian army is about 25,500 strong, and the Saxon is of the same strength. Wurtemberg can bring 28,800 men into the field, and Baden about 18,700. Hesse-Darmstadt and Hesse-Cassel have together about 24,000 men under their command.

#### ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE CZAR.

A telegram from St. Petersburg of Monday's date says:—"An abortive attempt has been made against the life of the Emperor of Russia. At four o'clock this afternoon, as the Czar was entering his carriage, after a promenade in the Summer Garden, a pistol-shot was fired at him by a stranger, but without taking effect. His Majesty is uninjured. The perpetrator of this outrage has been arrested and brought before the Tribunal of Police."

#### FRANCE.

There has been a great panic on the Paris Bourse, in consequence of the war rumours, but it has partially subsided. The *Constitutionnel* has published an article, supposed to have emanated from the Foreign Office, to the effect that France has maintained an attitude of scrupulous neutrality, and that the dangers of an outbreak of hostilities are diminished.

The situation, then (concludes the article) is not desperate. In any case that situation is not, particularly as regards France, such as to justify the alarm which we witness. It is unworthy of a great country to appear so affrighted, and to bring down disaster on all interests by cries of "Sauve qui peut!" Greater confidence and calm become France, which cannot forget the wisdom and the moderation evinced in all European crises by the Sovereign who for fifteen years has presided over her destinies.

The *Moniteur* is still silent on the subject, and the belief is general in Paris that Count Bismarck has been allowed to believe that he should not be interfered with, on the understanding, expressed or implied, that this non-interference should be followed by certain territorial acquisitions, and was so far encouraged to go on.

A Paris letter reports the substance of a conversation said to have taken place between the Emperor Napoleon and an eminent financier. The man of money was having a business interview with the man of bayonets, when the latter asked about the news of the day. The financier replied that German affairs were looking ill, and that the madness of Austria and

Prussia was playing the mischief at the Bourse. "France is neutral," said the Emperor. "Ah, but if your Majesty would but say the word, there would be no war." A shrug, a smile, and "Que voulez-vous?" formed the only reply to this appeal.

It is said that the French Government have intimated to Prussia that France considers a radical reconstruction of the Confederation not as a question of German home policy, but as one which would admit of the intervention of the signatories of the Vienna Congress.

#### THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

A movement has been made in Bucharest towards getting a ruler in the place of Prince Cousa. The Provisional Government and the Ministers put forward Prince Charles of Hohenzollern as a candidate for the place of Prince of Roumania, under the title of Charles I. Both provinces have voted him Hospodar unanimously. At Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, on the 14th a band of about 200 men attempted a separatist movement. They were dispersed by the police. After this attempt the rioters, all said to be Russians, barricaded themselves in the house of Rosnovano, whence they fired upon the troops, who replied. It is said that there were fourteen killed and sixteen wounded. The regiment which suppressed the movement was composed of Moldavian troops. Many persons were wounded by the soldiery. Mourouzi and his accomplices have taken refuge on Russian territory. The Metropolitan, who was at the head of the movement, has been arrested, together with the boyards Rosnovano and Laaceso. The rioters at Jassy have since issued a proclamation openly pronouncing for the separation of the Principalities, and declaring the election of a foreign prince to be an impossibility. A battery of artillery has been ordered to Jassy as a measure of precaution against any renewal of the disturbances.

The semi-official *Nord Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of Berlin declares that the election of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern to the throne of the Principalities is a matter which concerns solely the family of the Princes of Hohenzollern, and is in no way connected with Prussian State politics.

#### AMERICA.

President Johnson has issued the following proclamation:—

Whereas the President of the United States at different times in 1861 and 1862 declared certain States to be in insurrection, and during July, 1861, Congress adopted resolutions declaring that war was waged solely to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity and quality of the rights of the States unimpaired, and that as soon as these objects were accomplished the war ought to cease;

Whereas no organised or armed resistance to Federal authority exists in the late insurrectionary States, and the proper Federal or States' civil authority can enforce the laws therein, and the people are loyally disposed, and have conformed, or will conform, by legislation, to the condition of affairs growing out of the constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery;

Whereas, in view of the before-recited premises, it is the manifest determination of the American people that no State, of its own will, can secede from the Union, and that therefore each State ought to remain and constitute an integral part of the United States;

Whereas the people of the said insurrectionary States, in the manner aforesaid, have given satisfactory evidence of acquiescence in this sovereign and important resolution of national unity;

Whereas it is believed to be a fundamental principle of government that people who have revolted and been overcome and subdued must be either treated so as to induce them voluntarily to become friends, or else be held by absolute military power, so as to prevent them from ever again doing harm as enemies, which last-named policy is abhorrent to humanity and freedom;

Whereas the Constitution provides for constitutional communities only as States, and not as Territories, dependencies, provinces, or protectorates;

Whereas such constituent States must necessarily be, and by the Constitution are, made equal and placed on a like footing as to political rights, immunities, dignity, and power with the States with which they are united;

Whereas the observance of political equality is a principle of right and justice, and is well calculated to encourage the people of the aforesaid States to be and become more constant in their renewed allegiance;

Whereas standing armies, military occupations, martial law, military tribunals, and suspension of the *habeas corpus* are in time of peace dangerous to public liberty, incompatible with individual rights, contrary to the genius and spirit of American institutions, and ought not, therefore, to be sanctioned, except in cases of necessity for repelling invasion or suppressing rebellion;

Whereas the policy of the Federal Government from the beginning to the end of the rebellion has been in conformity with the principles herein set forth,—I therefore proclaim the insurrection in Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida to be ended, and henceforth to be so regarded.

In the Senate the Finance Committee have reported the Loan Bill without amendments, as received from the House of Representatives.

General Hawley, of the Republican party, has been elected Governor of Connecticut by a majority of 500 votes. The Democrats have gained largely since the last election.

The Senate has not yet taken action upon the question of passing the Civil Rights Bill over the President's veto.

The Governor of Vermont has appointed Mr. George Edmonds to be a senator, vice Mr. Foote, deceased.

Mr. Seward has entertained Madame Juarez, the wife of the Mexican President, at dinner.

The public debt of the United States on the 1st of

April amounted to 2,827,000,000 dols. The balance in the Treasury at the same date was 122,000,000 dols.

#### FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

It has been decided that the Franco-Roman Legion will not leave France till July. It is to be composed entirely of Frenchmen.

Garibaldi, the Italian journals state, has been made a grandfather. The wife of his son has just given birth to a daughter, who has received the name of Anita.

An effort made in the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin to restore capital punishment, which was abolished there several years ago, has been defeated by a vote of 50 to 34.

The Italian Government has organised a complete system of meteorological observations, according to the system of the lamented Admiral Fitzroy, but with some improvements and at a less expense.

**THE BASUTO WAR.**—The Free State Parliament had formally decided in favour of rejecting the offer of mediation made by his Excellency Sir P. E. Wodehouse.

**THE WAR WITH PARAGUAY.**—It is stated that the Brazilian Minister has received a telegram announcing the successful passage of the river Parana by the whole of the allied forces, under cover of the ironclad squadron.

**THE PRINCESS DAGMAR.**—There is a curious rumour in St. Petersburg that the project of marrying the Czar's son to the Princess Dagmar of Denmark has now been abandoned. The young Prince is said to have conceived a violent attachment for the young Princess Mieszczańska, the daughter of the celebrated Russian poet-priest Elias.

**PROPOSED HOMOPATHIC CONGRESS.**—At a grand dinner given at Véfour's by the homopathic doctors of Paris, it was announced that a universal congress of all the followers of Hahnemann will take place in 1867, and that all works bearing on his system of therapeutics will be exhibited at the Grande Exposition of the Champ de Mars.

#### Court, Official, and Personal News.

The Queen and family remain at Osborne. Saturday was the anniversary of the birth of the Princess Beatrice. The Court will shortly proceed to Balmoral, returning about the 4th of May.

It is stated that the nuptials of Princess Helena and the Prince Consul of Schleswig-Holstein will be celebrated in the private chapel at Windsor Castle.

The Princess of Prussia (Princess Royal of England, on Thursday gave birth to a daughter at Potsdam) Her Royal Highness has now five children—three sons and two daughters.

The Bishop of London and Mrs. Tait left London House, St. James's-square, on Wednesday, for Hastings. The right rev. prelate is considerably improved in health.

Viscountess Palmerston is progressing towards recovery. Her ladyship has been very unwell, but a change has taken place within the last few days, which affords hope of her speedy restoration to health.

We believe we are correct in stating that the Hon. John H. T. Mawson-Sutton, at present Governor of Trinidad, has been offered the vacancy caused by the recall of Sir Charles Darling from Victoria.—*The Owl.*

It is reported that Mr. Rawson W. Rawson, at present Governor of the Bahama Islands, has been ordered to assume the administration of the government of Jamaica on the return of Sir Henry Storks to Europe.

Mr. Brassey, jun., has issued his address, offering himself as a candidate for Sandwich in place of Lord Clarence Paget, who retires.

#### Miscellaneous News.

**THE CATTLE PLAGUE RETURNS** show that the disease is rapidly dying out. The number of animals attacked in the week ending March 31 was 3,956 against 4,704 in the previous week. Three or four weeks previously the number was over 12,000.

**MR. LOWE AND THE MANCHESTER PETITIONS.**—The London correspondent of the *Dublin Freeman*, describing the proceedings in the House of Commons on Thursday night, says:—"Mr. Basley, the member for Manchester, had a pile of petitions as large as a roll of carpet, which was tied in a compact mass, and placed on the floor just below the gangway. Mr. Lowe subsequently entered the House, and, finding it impossible to get a place, sat down on the pile of petitions, thus giving a practical illustration of the estimate in which the right honourable gentleman holds the question of Parliamentary Reform."

**DWELLINGS FOR THE POOR.**—A meeting of the Suburban Village and General Dwellings Company (Limited) was held last Friday evening, at the Angel, Islington, it being the first of a series proposed to be held in the metropolis and the suburbs. The chair was taken by G. L. Banks, Esq., in the absence through illness of the chairman of the company, J. Everitt, Esq. The secretary having made a statement of the plans of operation of the company, George Cruikshank, Esq., and Dr. Jabez Burns addressed the meeting upon the necessity of the work undertaken by the company, and especially endeavoured to impress upon them that practical efforts were desirable. Mr. George Brook, who was present in the room, followed. Mr. Austin, a working man, and Mr. Booth, a Post-office employé, with several

other artisans, gave their adhesion to the plans proposed; and a resolution, pledging the meeting to assist by all means in its power the forwarding of the objects of the company, was carried unanimously. The meeting, which was numerously attended, separated with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

**GREAT NORTHERN HOSPITAL, CALEDONIAN-ROAD, N.**—The members of the Alexandra Dramatic Club have kindly promised a first-class entertainment, under distinguished patronage, at the Myddleton Hall, on Saturday, the 28th inst., for the benefit of the charity. This is the only general hospital in the extreme northern district of London. Funds are urgently needed to prevent refusal of applications for admission. During the last ten years the hospital has gratuitously relieved upwards of 4,000,000 poor cases. The number of patients admitted to this hospital for the week ending April 14 was 1,124, of which 267 were new cases.

**MR. PEABODY'S REPLY TO HER MAJESTY.**—The following letter was transmitted to the Queen, through Earl Russell, in reply to her Majesty's gracious letter to Mr. Peabody:—

The Palace Hotel, Buckingham-gate, London, April 3.

Madame,—I feel sensibly my inability to express in adequate terms the gratification with which I have read the letter which your Majesty has done me the high honour of transmitting by the hands of Earl Russell.

On the occasion which has attracted your Majesty's attention, of setting apart a portion of my property to ameliorate the condition and augment the comforts of the poor of London, I have been actuated by a deep sense of gratitude to God, who has blessed me with prosperity, and of attachment to this great country, where, under your Majesty's benign rule, I have received so much personal kindness, and enjoyed so many years of happiness.

Next to the approval of my own conscience, I shall always prize the assurance which your Majesty's letter conveys to me of the approbation of the Queen of England, whose whole life has attested that her exalted station has in no degree diminished her sympathy with the humblest of her subjects.

The portrait which your Majesty is graciously pleased to bestow on me I shall value as the most precious heirloom that I can leave in the land of my birth, where, together with the letter which your Majesty has addressed to me, it will ever be regarded as an evidence of the kindly feeling of the Queen of the United Kingdom towards a citizen of the United States.

I have the honour to be, your Majesty's most obedient servant,

GEORGE PEABODY.

To Her Majesty the Queen.

**ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL, HAVERSTOCK-HILL.**—On Thursday evening the 108th anniversary festival of this institution was celebrated at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge presiding, supported by a large number of gentlemen interested in the welfare of the charity. It appeared that the schools are in a most satisfactory position, and that the children had made good progress in those branches of education which it was the object of the institution to impart. The pupils about to leave the school were always much sought after for situations, especially the girls, for whom the applications were very numerous. During the past year 77 children were admitted into the institution, and during the same period 42 had left and four had died. The number now in the schools were 242 boys and 106 girls. The positive increase in the year had been 31, and since the enlargement of the building in 1860 the total increase had been 91. The total receipts for the year were 9,007L 18s. 3d.; and the total payments 9,301L 19s. 8d., leaving a deficiency of 294L 1s. 5d.. The noble chairman, in proposing the toast of the evening, called attention to the healthy and cheerful appearance of the children (who had just been introduced into the room), and observed that their condition proved the satisfactory results of the charity. The Orphan Working School was one of the oldest institutions in the metropolis, and during the 108 years of its existence its sphere of operations had gradually increased. The governors hoped to be enabled during the present year to accommodate 400 children; but he should remind the benevolent public that although the institution was almost free from debt, and was happily in a prosperous condition, the directors had little money to depend upon apart from the annual subscriptions. The greatest benefit which could be conferred upon an institution like the present was in contributing to its permanent income, and he trusted that the supporters of this charity would use their best exertions towards securing to it that most desirable advantage. His royal highness's speech was listened to with marked attention, and the subscriptions afterwards announced amounted to about 1,000L.

**THE NOTTINGHAM ELECTION COMMITTEE** concluded the inquiry into the case against Sir Robert Clifton on Friday. No decision was given by the committee, although they intimated that they would not trouble the counsel for Mr. Morley to address them on the question of a general riot. On Monday the petition against Mr. Morley was proceeded with, the charge of bribery arising out of the employment of paid canvassers. Yesterday Mr. Morley was examined. He said that during the election a number of ward meetings were held, which were orderly at first, but after two or three had been held the proceedings were disturbed by persons who seemed to come for the purpose. The meetings were held at three or four days' notice. Was at the Liberal committee-room on the 26th June, when a meeting was to be held. The windows were smashed in with very large stones whilst he was there; the stone-throwing lasted for half-an-hour, and they concealed themselves as best they could about the premises. There were about 1,000 of his

supporters present. Had not canvassed before the 26th of June. He had been present when canvassers had withdrawn from the canvass from a feeling of fear. The paid canvassers were under great apprehensions of violence up to the time of the polling. Subsequently to the 26th of June he frequently went about the town himself, and was subjected to great annoyance from disorderly persons in the streets, although not to personal violence. Had to use a carriage in moving from one place to another, in order to avoid molestation. The payment of 3,000L was made to Mr. Arthur Wells on several occasions during the election, and in the form of a cheque. There was no subscription to defray the expenses of the election. Was not personally acquainted with the subordinate agents employed on his behalf. Could not state the particulars of disbursement of the sum of 999L set down in the accounts. Did not know how much had been paid to canvassers and how much to messengers. Did not think the voluntary canvassers belonged to a different class from the paid. On the day of nomination his friends were driven off the platform. The mayor offered to go to the front with him as a protection. He did not speak more than five minutes, and was obliged to curtail his speech, as he was in great fear. The inquiry is not likely to last beyond this week.

#### Gleanings.

A bust of Mr. Cobden, by Mr. Noble, has been presented to Rochdale by Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P.

The *Cork Constitution* states that women are travelling from town to town in Ireland as Fenian emissaries.

Monsieur de Sionville, a Frenchman, has announced that he has, at length, succeeded in making malleable glass.

A quadrille of so intricate a series of figures has been introduced in Paris, that it has been named Trigonometry, and its original name, *Variétés Parisiennes*, has been superseded.

There was a partial eclipse of the sun on Sunday morning, commencing at 5:11 a.m., and ending at 8:32 a.m. The greatest obscuration was nearly three-fourths of the sun's diameter, and took place at 6:51.

It is stated that it is the intention of Government to submit to a special committee the question of communication between passengers and the drivers and guards of railway trains.

So advanced is the season on the shores of Mount's Bay that gooseberries of very fair size may be procured near Penzance, at the fancy price, however, of 5s. per quart.

It is said in America that the reason why so many Americans are going abroad is the fact that a family can live in Europe on the rent of their house in any of the great American cities.

A American paper states that the spiritualists of Cincinnati have invoked the spirit of the late Lord Palmerston, and that it has declared itself strongly in favour of the Fenian movement.

The trial of Mr. Waters, the steward of the Earl of Shaftesbury, charged with embezzlement, was postponed until the November session, pending the Chancery suit between Mr. Waters and the Earl.

It is proposed to construct a way under the river between Deptford and the Isle of Dogs, to consist of two iron tubes of 17 feet diameter, with a roadway of 14 feet and pathways of 8 feet 6 inches on each side.

Mr. Peter Pantin Ralli, of Hyde Park, the eminent Greek merchant, has just presented to the committee of King's College Hospital the munificent sum of 6,000L, for the purpose of establishing a ward for poor sick children in that institution.

The *Telegrapher* (an American paper) states that it is intended to apply electricity to Alden's typesetting-machine, so as to enable a person in Washington to set type by telegraph in the offices of the large daily papers in New York.

A teacher at a national school at Whittlesea asked a boy the other evening, "Which is the highest dignitary of the church?" After looking up and looking down, north, east, south, and west, the boy innocently replied, "The weathercock."

Mrs. Keble was so ill at Bournemouth when her husband's corpse was about to be taken away for interment at Hursley that she pathetically requested that his grave should not be closed until she was laid in it.

Lady Johnston has handed over to trustees the munificent sum of 10,000L, the interest of which is to be devoted to the assistance of respectable unmarried females, being Protestants, over the age of fifty years, and who shall resided for at least five years in the town of Belfast.

A curious *ménage* has just been established in the Jardin des Plantes. In an iron cage have been placed a young lioness, an Algerian wild boar, and a little dog. This last is quite the master, the lioness generally amusing herself with teasing the boar. When, however, the lioness goes too far the dog interferes and re-establishes order.

*Kladderadatsch* (the Berlin *Punch*) has a caricature on the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty. Schleswig and Holstein are represented as the two legs of a pair of trousers. In the first part, Prussia and Austria have each got one leg on, with the remark, "That does not do." In the second picture the trousers are divided, and each has one leg. That does not do either. In the third, Prussia has got the whole garment to itself, and Austria is walking off with a bag of money; and that will do.

## Literature.

## CHYSOSTOM ON THE PRIESTHOOD.\*

If the Homilies of Chrysostom form the most interesting, and in some respects the most precious portion of the remains of the Patristic Age, not less surely is his work, "On the Priesthood," the one treatise which, not forgetting Augustine's "De Doctrina Christiana," can never lose its significance to the Christian minister as a representation, by one of the most gifted teachers and most experienced pastors of the Church of that age, of the character and life suitable to and demanded from "all bishops, priests, and deacons." It is the earliest work containing precepts for the government of the habits and activities of the minister; and although the materials it furnishes for the instruction of the preacher of the Word are but slight, and have been superseded by works of modern days of a more orderly and developed character, there are certain chapters which might usefully form a part of the homiletical reading of every student for the Christian ministry. We therefore give prominence to a translation of this small treatise which has just been issued by Mr. Harris Cowper, the Syriac scholar, and the editor of the "Journal of Sacred Literature." There have been previous translations, but they have become scarce, and were never widely diffused.

Mr. Cowper justly says of this discourse, *Ὕπει λεπτούν*, that it is often difficult to convey the sense in tolerably intelligible English. He has, however, displayed excellent judgment and tact in adhering closely to the text, yet presenting the thought lucidly and forcibly, if not always elegantly; and is especially to be commended for having preserved the complexion, as it were, of Chrysostom, without modernising either the terms of offices in the Church which he employed, or the modes of representation which belong to his age and clime rather than to our own. Mr. Cowper rejects for himself the generally accepted opinion that the work was written at an early period of Chrysostom's ministry, on the ground that "the command of language, the solidity of judgment, and the profound knowledge of human nature and spiritual things it displays, do not belong to the youthful and inexperienced." So far we agree with him; but incline to think that the *form* of the work—the sort of plot and the dialogue, and the luxuriance—may argue that it does not belong to the latest period of Chrysostom's life. No one has better described its character than the translator, when he says, "Perhaps the solemn obligations imposed upon God's ministers were never more strikingly exhibited: arguments, comparisons, texts of Scripture, examples, and whatever may give force and energy to the main idea, are abundantly introduced."

The minister or candidate for the ministry who thoughtfully reads this book in retired hours, will probably tremble inwardly under the power of some of its more solemn admonitions, or be borne away by its representations of duty and responsibility into a deep and long-lasting silence, in which he will ponder as in God's sight only what is committed to him in that office to which he is called. It is in the record of the experience of not a few of the most devout and earnest men who have in any age been engaged in the service of the Church of Christ, that they have owed to this remarkable book the awakening of their minds from official lethargy or the moral numbness that familiarity with responsibility frequently occasions, and that it has made them more than any human influence besides conscious of their absolute dependence on Divine grace and quickened them to a previously unknown earnestness in seeking and in making fruitful use of spiritual gifts. Yet is a work that has the fine threads of error—the doctrinal and ecclesiastical error of the Greek Church of the time, and the individual peculiarities of Chrysostom as a religious thinker—traceable in every book. There is much to object to, from our modern point of view; and a little that at the outset might excite the repugnance and even contempt of the unwise. Let us entreat those who do not know it, to begin a perusal of it with a plunge into its very heart and core; and then they will turn back with interest and prepared susceptibility to its first page, and will read it throughout.

It is in the fourth and fifth books that students will find the chapters of greatest value on the public labours of the ministry. (B. IV. cc. 3—7: V. cc. 1, 2, and 6.) Chrysostom there takes up such topics as that "great ability to speak is required of a priest"; that he "should be prepared for controversial discussion with Pagans, Jews, and heretics"; that he "ought to be well skilled in the art of reasoning"; that thus "St. Paul was illustrious, not for his miracles only, but

"for his eloquence," and that the priest "must excel in a similar manner, or wanting such qualification must needs do much harm to his people"; that "public discourses require much labour and 'study'; that "he that is appointed to the priesthood ought to despise applause and be a 'powerful speaker'; and that "what is said should be prepared only with the view of pleasing God"; seeing that "he who is not supremely indifferent to praise will be subject to many 'troubles'."

Mr. Cowper suitably notes the importance of this work as throwing light on the inner life and external relations of the Church of the fourth century. The condition of communities of monks, widows, and virgins, the choice and election of the clergy, the position and influence of the laity, and the independence of the Church of the secular and civil power, are all touched by Chrysostom as he passes through the several parts of his subject. And, if he "teaches baptismal regeneration, the power of priestly absolution, and the bodily presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper," it is no less noticeable that he recognises that the Church of his time retains no trace of a power to work miracles, and that he never mentions the Virgin, or the intercession of the saints, or prayers for the dead. The translator's preface is an altogether admirable introduction to a first perusal of this interesting little treatise.

## TWO OXFORD LECTURES ON CHURCH AND STATE.\*

The old rallying cry of "The Church in Danger," the old cry, scoffed at by those who know and "dread its power, but never, it may perhaps be said, "raised without cause," is echoed by the learned Chichele Professor; but with a difference, for the danger to the Church is rather danger to the State, in defence of which every educated man is to combat, lest it cut itself off from what forms its chief glory, and then, oh, sad conclusion! "if the connection of Church and State be broken, it is not easy to see how it can ever be repaired." It is prophesied by Mr. Burrows, whose professorship of history may give him special facilities for prognosticating, that the management of Church affairs will be very soon left more and more to Churchmen, and that the increasing love of freedom and openness and discussion in political matters will tend to the Church's benefit; and it is anticipated that the Church will soon be reinvested with those high privileges which, withheld for a time for special State reasons, she has been ever since tyrannously deprived of, though the need for their suspension has long ceased. This casting of the future is founded on the stir there has been lately among ecclesiastics for the revival of Convocation—the *quasi* concession of which claim is regarded as the first-fruits of a large harvest, for a proper Court of Final Appeal, for some voice in, or at least a veto on, the election of Bishops, and for immunity from all handling of the Church's doctrine and discipline, directly or indirectly, by any but her own assemblies.

We should have supposed that the course of the Establishment, shown by history, and read in the light of passing events, would have led to very different anticipations; but, perhaps, the light of passing events cannot shine into the sacred cloisters of Oxford, and the light of other days, gleaming through storied windows, may be preferred. Mr. Burrows sketches the history of the Church Establishment in this country, from its first appearance in Anglo-Saxon times, when the two great powers mutually interpenetrated, and formed an "incorporate union," like the mysterious and inseparable connection between the soul and the body of the individual man. With the Norman Conquest came a new phase of the union, compared by Dr. Hook "to the union between man and wife in one household, where the general interest being one and the same, there is room for misunderstandings, disputes, and even for divorce." Through the next four centuries there was a gradual diminution of ecclesiastical power, though, in the meantime, the claims and privileges of the clergy were duly registered in Magna Charta. In the charter, but not for the first time, appeared the famous words, *Ecclesia libera sit*. This freedom, besides numerous other customs and privileges, included freedom in the election of bishops; freedom to hold Councils or Synods subject to the restriction upon the making of canons imposed by the Conqueror; freedom in the Ecclesiastical Courts from secular interference; and freedom from arbitrary taxation, the right of the clergy to meet and tax themselves. One would be ready to conclude, spite of his pleasant prophesying, that Mr. Burrows' views of the present condition of the Church must be most melancholy and despairing, when he says:—"The first three of these conditions of freedom, exercised within proper limits, and

"guarded from all interference with civil liberty, are essential to the healthy existence of the Church. They are essential in all times and under all circumstances. They are essential in order to the proper exercise of ecclesiastical functions. They are essential to the faithful transmission of the sacred deposit. An Established Church may drag on a feeble existence without them, but at imminent risk, and under grievous depression."

The Reformation, under Henry VIII., brought about the complete triumph of the old Saxon independence of Rome, the shaking off of the corruptions of the Faith, and a return to a greater simplicity: but, it is asserted, the Church and all her ministers remained the same as before the Act of Submission; the same *congé d'élire*, "no more a mockery than before, and no less"; the Word and Sacraments the same, set free from disfigurements; the same Liturgical offices, only purified. Of all Henry's public acts, it is said, "there was none which will less bear inspection than that which has given its shape and form to the relations of Church and State from that day to the present." At the Restoration, the clergy had to renounce their most ancient privilege of taxing themselves, and thus Convocation lost its chief guarantee for a place in the Constitution. Though at the Revolution of 1688, when "the compact between Church and State was more solemnly ratified than before," Convocation was summoned, political necessities seemed to render its continuance inexpedient. The sketch of the English phase of the Church Establishment is preceded by a summary view of the union between Church and State generally, from the earliest times.

Of the whole history we can, without prejudice, say, it confirms us in our belief that the union has ever been disastrous in the highest degree to both contracting parties, and reminds us, to use our own version of Dr. Hook's illustration, of an ill-assorted married couple, always bickering and wrangling, a plague to each other and a scandal to their neighbours, both often threatening, yet neither really wishing for, a divorce.

But we must be wrong, for the Chichele Professor of Modern History, who ought to know, says:—"Few would now be willing to forget the lessons of all history, and exclude the establishment of religion from the prime functions of Government. Few take so false a view of morality, the only basis and bond of government, as to suppose it can exist without a Faith; few believe that such a Faith can lay a firm hold on the various elements of a scattered society without the assistance of the State; few, at least amongst Churchmen, would doubt what that Faith must be."

## BRIEF NOTICES.

*The Milestones of Life.* By the Rev. A. F. THOMSON, B.A., author of "The English Schoolroom," &c. (London: Frederick Warne and Co.) We have thoughtfully scanned several of the essays composing this little work, and we can cordially commend it to our readers. Its purport is well suggested by its title. Life is broken up into periods, and the transition from one to another is often marked by events which receive careful note from the wise. It is the aim of Mr. Thomson to aid by counsels and reflections suited to these, and he has not failed. He is thoughtful without dryness, fresh without affectation, individual without vanity. And he has been content with the presentation of his thought, avoiding the tedious prolixity by which writers of his purpose have often robbed their labours of much service. Did we think it our duty to analyse his work, we should here and there enter into debate with him. But we regard it a healthy thing for the reader to have opinions put before him intelligently, whether he may concur in them or not; and this all the more so in a book that seeks to quicken to thought for one's self more than to supply the mind with materials ready for use without inquiry. "Leaving Home," "Entering the World," "Setting out with a purpose," "The gain and loss of friends," "Breaks in the family circle," "Marriage and its relations," "The perils of a great temptation," "Seeing the hand of God in our own career," are the inscriptions some of these "Milestones" bear, and those we refrain from enumerating are of scarcely less interest or importance. Much better had the journey of life sped with many if they had headed such good sense and just observation as the following.—"What does the word 'success' actually mean? Why, 'a coming up from under,' a passing from a lower to a higher state of things; and, as a certain inevitable law, it is observed that the man who would achieve 'success' per saltum, is most assuredly, sooner or later, cast down to those lower grades that he has heretofore despised. To the humble man 'success' is not so much a matter of attaining the highest grade, but of safely and soundly planting foot after foot on the rounds, so that, despite of himself almost, he must ascend." We like the chapter on "Setting out with a purpose," in which "duty" and "aspirations" are nicely discriminated, the substance of which lies in this extract,—"Let a young man, then, be well content if at first he can discern some plain lines of 'duty,' and

\* *S. John Chrysostom on the Priesthood.* In Six Books. Translated from the Original Greek. By B. HARRIS COWPER. London: Williams and Norgate.

"set up to them, leaving 'purposes in life' to a future day, when both the heart and brain will be enlarged by the practice of the lower 'duty.' If so, a time will come when he will be called upon to form 'aspirations' and to carry them out. Then follows an admirably drawn illustration from the life of George Stephenson. Perhaps the bitterest woes of life have come of false friends, and to instruct youth in the great conditions of a true friendship were one of the highest and most benevolent kindnesses. Mr. Thomson's words will be endorsed by thousands, 'We do not gain friends by an act of our own. We may do a person all the services in the world, and they may be most gratefully accepted and most handsomely requited, but yet we have not made a friend thereby.' 'Friends do not come by *deeds*, however kind, but by *sympathy*.' This entire chapter will reward the most careful thought. The essay on 'Marriage and its relations' naturally raises the important questions of courtship, and home, and the affinities, in due honour of which alone marriage can be happy. Very interesting discriminations are pursued between man and woman, and between men and women, in some of which we heartily concur, and all of which deserve to be pondered. But we cannot quote, and we the less regret our inability as the topic is all-sufficient to arrest the attention of the reader. We trust our brief description and citation will bespeak for Mr. Thomson the thought and candour which, if once accorded him, will be repaid. And we hope it will be his good fortune to hear (to quote his closing words) that he has strengthened faith, roused hope, given consolation, and brought many farther away from the world and nearer to God. It is due to the publishers that we add the book is beautifully got up; paper, type, and binding, all contributing to attract, and to render it a most suitable memento for a child or a friend passing one or other of the 'milestones of life.'

*The Golden Diary of Heart-converse with Jesus in the Book of Psalms.* By the Rev. Dr. EDERSHEIM, Torquay. Arranged for every Sunday in the year. (London: James Nisbet and Co.) The author tells us "The main object of these meditations is to exhibit a mode of reading the Scriptures, and especially the Book of Psalms, which has been found most useful and precious by many of God's people. This consists in turning them, verse by verse, and almost clause by clause, into spiritual food, by making them subject of devout meditation and object of believing prayer." This aim has been fulfilled with much devoutness, and with manifest care to stimulate practical holiness. But we regret that it has not been seen how a more strictly expository exhibition of the Psalms had better served this end. Language so general as that of the Psalms admits of easy and popular application to the sufferings and work and triumph of Christ. But a little ingenuity avails for this. And it is rest and comfort to the soul of the believer to be in "heart converse" with Him. We do not doubt that every part of Scripture may serve to remind us of Him, either in illustration of man's need of Him, or of the grace that is actually supplied by Him. But this is a very different thing from so speaking as if in every place such reference were the express purpose of what we read. Many of the Psalms, no doubt, are truly "messianic," while others are not so. And the teachers of Divine truth owe it to those whom they would help to understand Scripture to exhibit as far as possible its primary sense no less than the applications of which it is susceptible in other times and experience. Half a page devoted to the rigid statement of the occasion and original purport of the Psalms, as far as they can be ascertained, would have given freshness to the volume, and often suggested a theme distinct and precious which the reader would have delighted to pursue. In many instances we agree with Dr. Edersheim's central interpretation of the piece, but he often leaves us in a bewilderment, which, if not resented by the heart, is not acceptable to the intellect. We are unable to reconcile this treatment of Scripture with the reverence and the integrity of conscience which God's Word demands of us; and we are very certain that it ministers to a most pernicious confusion of thought among Christians. Highly appreciating the tone and aim of this work, we are yet unable to withhold our earnest avowal that that aim might have been far more worthily attained. Nevertheless, we doubt not that many will find it a refreshing exercise each Lord's Day in the year thus to converse with Jesus.

*The Bible Word-book: A Glossary of Old English Bible Words.* By J. EASTWOOD, M.A., and W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A. (Macmillan and Co.) The conception and general plan of this work, it appears, are the late Mr. Eastwood's; but his colleague, Mr. Aldis Wright, who, in consequence of Mr. Eastwood's decease, has had to complete the work single-handed, has increased the original list of words threefold, has written the etymological notes, and collected from his very varied reading a large number of illustrative examples. The object of the work may best be described by Mr. Wright himself: "to explain and illustrate all such words, phrases, and constructions, in the authorised version of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha, and in the Book of Common Prayer, as are either obsolete or archaic." The test applied to words and constructions that might be doubtful, has been in each case, "whether it would find a place naturally in the usual prose writing of the day." Many words, &c., common enough in sermons and religious writing are included in

the glossary, on the ground that they are not part of our present living language so much as "unconscious quotations from our authorised version." The illustrations of the words included, whether as merely archaic or as obsolete, have been sought for the most part from writings of an earlier period than that in which the English translation appeared. The reason is well stated:—"In considering the language of our English Bible, we must bear in mind that it has become what it is by a growth of eighty-six years, from the publication of Tyndale's New Testament in 1525 to that of the Authorised Version in 1611. Further, it must be remembered that our translators founded their work upon the previous versions, retaining whatever in them could be retained, and amending what was faulty. The result was therefore of necessity a kind of Mosaic, and the English of the A. V. represents, not the language of 1611 in its integrity, but the language which prevailed from time to time during the previous century." Some of the articles are of considerable extent, and of rare interest; but the specimens of treatment we select for quotation must necessarily be brief.

"*CIELED*, pp. (2 Chr. iii. 5; Jer. xxii. 14; Esek. xli. 16; Hag. i. 4). Panelled, wainscotted. The etymology of this word is obscured by the spelling, which seems to connect it with the Fr. *ciel*, It. *cielo*, a canopy. To *ceil* or *ceilé* a room was to cover it with boards, or wainscoting, like Fr. *plancher*. To *ceil* the eyes of a hawk or dove (Fr. *siller les yeux*) was to *sow* up their eyelids, and in this sense is used by Shakespeare (*Ant. and Cleop.*, iii. ii. 1—

"But when we in our viciousness grew hard,  
(A mercy on't!) the wise gods *ceil* our eyes.

And Chapman (*Homer*, Il. xvi. 314):

"And cold death with a violent fate his sable eyes did *ceil*."

What we now call the *ceiling* was formerly called the upper *ceil*, Fr. *sus-lambris*, to distinguish it from the *ceil* or wainscoting on the walls. Wedgwood, *Etym. Dict.* That this was the sense attached to the word by our translators is evident from a reference to the original. In 2 Chr. iii. 5, the word rendered "cieled" is in the same verse, and vv. 7—9, "overlaid"; the same root is elsewhere translated "to cover" (2 Sam. xv. 30; Ps. lxviii. 13, &c.). Again the original in Jer. xxii. 14 and Hag. i. 4 is elsewhere translated "covered" (1 Kings vi. 9, vii. 3, 7). In the remarkable passage of Deut. xxiiii. 21, "sealed" in the text has "cieled" in the margin.

*SHROUD*, s.v. (Ex. xxxi. 3). Cover, shelter; literally a garment, from A.-S. *scrud*. The part of St. Paul's called the *shroud* was a covered space on the side of the church to protect the congregation in inclement seasons. *Peasant*, London, p. 342 (ed. 1790).

"But it would warm his spirits,  
To hear from me you had left Antony,  
And put yourself under his *shroud*,  
The universal landlord."

—*Shakespeare*, *Ant. and Cleop.* iii. 13.

"Where like a mounting cedar he should bear  
His plumed top aloft into the ayre;  
And let these shrubz sit underneath his *shrowdes*,  
Whilst in his armes he doth embrace the clowdes."

—Drayton, *England's Her. Ep.* (Q. Marg. to D. of Suff. I. 79.)

It will be seen that the work is thus a genuine contribution to lexicography, and Mr. Wright will be at once credited with the "much time and labour" which he says he has bestowed on it. Only a scholar whose learning is sustained by large knowledge of our diversified literature could have produced a work so rich and valuable. It will be highly prized by all students of our language, and has, further, the merit of practical usefulness to Sunday-school teachers, to Bible-readers, and to families in which education proceeds (as we hope it largely does) by means of our noble English version of the Scriptures.

*A Brief Biographical Dictionary.* Compiled and Arranged by the Rev. CHARLES HOLE, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. (Macmillan and Co.) Nothing more is aimed at in this little volume than to afford "ready information of the births and deaths of deceased persons more or less noteworthy of all countries and periods." A single line is allowed to each name, and thus many hundred more entries have been possible than even the bulkiest biographical dictionaries contain. It is, however, only the identification of an individual whose name may occur in ordinary reading, and the ascertainment of his birth and death dates, that the work permits; although the identification often takes place by means of two or three particulars, such as works of art or literary productions in the case of painters, poets, scholars, &c., or assumed names or soubriquets, or the mention of published biographies. The questions that may be answered from its pages are more than the one Mr. Hole modestly assigns: and to that, viz., "When did he live?" we may fairly add, "Who was he?" We take a specimen, a case in which there are three persons having a name not likely to be known to ordinary readers, and who, when they stumbled on it, would ask both the questions we have set down:—

"Accolti, Benedict. Florentine lawyer and historian. b. 1415, d. 1466.

"Accolti, Benedict—grandson. Cardinal of Ancona. Latinist. b. 1497, d. 1549.

"Accolti, Francis. Francis of Arezzo or Aretino. Jurist. b. 1418, d. 1485."

These instances are as good as a column for the illustration of the peculiar character and worth of the book. Mr. Hole appears to have been exceedingly diligent and laborious in the ascertaining of the true dates with which he deals, and, in his preface, has sufficiently shown how inaccurate in this respect are some of the most authoritative biographical works. He seems to

have done well a service which will be important to all who come after in the same field. The work is one which should be included in every collection of books of reference, however small, and should be always at hand, even in large libraries. Its convenient size, its presentation of its elementary biographical particulars to the first glance of the seeking eye, and its extraordinary range (extending to some 18,000 names) should make it welcome to all writers, students, and readers of even no more than a newspaper. We have marked a few imperfections or errors in the particulars of certain names; and should the list be extended as we continue to use the book, the editor shall have the benefit of it; but its accuracy on the whole, as far as we can test it, may be implicitly depended upon.

*Our Reptiles.* By M. C. COOKE. With Coloured Plates and Numerous Woodcuts.—*The Land and Freshwater Mollusks of Great Britain.* By RALPH TATE, F.G.S., &c. (London: R. Hardwicke.) It is the design common to these excellent volumes to present a plain and easy account of the creatures included in an interesting branch of British Natural History: and they resemble each other in general character, form, and style of illustration. Mr. Cooke, well known in the department of Botany, and the editor of "Science Gossip," has returned to an "old love" in preparing this account of the unpopular and scorned class which includes lizards, snakes, newts, toads, and frogs. He has written not for the scientific but the uninformed reader; and has produced a very agreeable and instructive and trustworthy book. It is accurate with scientific accuracy, while popular with anecdote and pleasant quotation. A more thorough study of Reptiles will be assisted by the Systematic Arrangement given in an Appendix. Mr. Tate has shown not less ability to expound science to ordinary readers in his valuable account of such humble creatures as slugs and snails,—which is extended to the inclusion of all our well-known land and fluvial Molluscs; and he appears to bring much personal observation to his subject. Many scientific terms necessarily occur in both works; but those who may blame their frequency will only show that they have no just sense of the part such terms play in summarising and arranging observed facts, and groups of facts, so as to avoid endless repetitions and detailed comparisons: and, at any rate, they greatly assist the memory of those who really study natural history, while they may be treated as *stiles* across the pathway by "the general reader," who seeks only descriptions of structure and habit for creatures that he knows by familiar names, and may simply be stepped over. Both volumes are profusely illustrated with coloured plates, of the highest character, and with woodcuts. We account them the best of recent popular works in natural history,—ranking in all respects with Mr. Cooke's "British Fungi" and "Smut, Mildew, and Moulds."

*The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.* Complete Edition.—*The Swiss Family Robinson.* (Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis.) These two favourite books—the latter a well-known preparation of the juvenile mind for the severer character of Defoe's immortal work—are here reproduced in the most attractive form conceivable for the gratification of young eyes. Each has six coloured plates, which are of far higher order than is usual in such books, and a few really pleasing and effective. On the whole, they appear to us the best family and school-prize editions of these universally popular romances of travel.

*The Fables of Aesop: with new Applications, Morals, &c.* By the Rev. G. F. TOWNSEND. (Frederick Warne and Co.) The editor of this popular edition of one of the most popular and practically influential books in the world, has written a sensible preface and a brief life of Aesop—as far as the materials, real and supposititious, permit. The translation reprinted is that of Croxall; but the editor has properly discarded that translator's "applications," and has added others of his own. These are not always sufficiently brief; and often are, in our judgment, not expressive of the essential point of the fable applied. The "moral," also, is susceptible frequently of more distinct enunciation, although sometimes happily clothed in a familiar proverb. "Mottos," in verse, are appended; and are likely to catch the attention, and remain in the memory, of the young. The editor does not profess to have given any independent study to Aesop until called on to prepare this volume: with more time he might have done better; but has in the circumstances done well. There are a hundred and ten original illustrations on wood, some of them very good. We do not feel that Aesop needs or is improved by all that the editor, imitating several predecessors, has done for the interpretation and practical application of the fables. We prefer Mr. James's plan; and, by the way, his well-known edition includes some seventy or eighty fables more than this volume. This, however, is a pretty book, and will be well received.

*Sweet Counsel. A Book for Girls.* By the Author of "Papers for Thoughtful Girls." (London: F. Warne and Co.) There is many a kindly judicious maiden aunt that has given meet counsel to a niece whose girlhood is passing into womanhood: counsel which, perhaps, she is better fitted to give than a happy wife or busy mother, from the early disappointment, it may be, which has deepened, while it has saddened, all her thoughts and feelings. Such an aunt gives the counsel

of this book, the fruit of large experience, and quiet thinking, and "great searchings of heart." In her still home, in an old-fashioned country town, her niece Mary often visits her, and the two sit in the twilight and talk, or rather the elder pours out her stores of counsel and warning, quaint and wise and tender, upon all subjects which most nearly concern the duties and the interests, present and to come, of a young girl; how in little things as well as great, she should so conduct herself with father, mother, brothers, and sisters, as to secure for them and for herself all the sweetness of a happy home. From this innermost circle, the counsel, always sweet and wise, expatiates into wider scenes which are likely to be of deepest interest in future years. All this counselling is not dull, prosaic, moralising or sermonising, nor is it the projection of an old maid's gaunt shadow upon the sunny heart of a child; but it is genial, thoughtful, sympathising, pleasant to hear, and worthy to be remembered. The wise advice upon nursery education, especially, seems to us healthy and sweet as a breeze from the hills. With so much in this book to please, we are sorry to have any occasion for faultfinding. There is frequently great faultiness and slovenliness of style. There are great stretches of sentences broken up into patches, quite a weary length from period to period. At times we have been bewildered in the midst of clauses and parentheses, and have quite lost sight of our starting-place, and of any clue to guide us through the labyrinth. This objection applies, however, principally to the opening chapters. It may be the way of good aunts whose locks are iron grey, to talk thus; but, certainly it is not pleasant to read.

*Warne's Victoria Picture Spelling Book.* Three Hundred Illustrations, by Gilbert, Harvey, &c. (Warne and Co.) Contains, besides graduated spelling and reading lessons, easy lessons in grammar, chronology, and physical geography; with useful information, scraps of science on common things, arithmetical tables, &c. The best book of the kind that we remember to have seen. The pictures are much above the ordinary run of "cuts" for primers, and some of them capital.

*The Death of Moses, and Miscellaneous Poems.* By GEORGE PEARCE, Translator of "Pascal's Provincial Letters," "Thoughts," &c., and Author of "Elijah, and the Monarchy of Israel," a poem. (London: James Nisbet and Co.) This is a descriptive poem of the life and deeds and death of Moses, and of the fortunes of the children of Israel in so far as they were associated with those of their great lawgiver. The death of Moses, though it gives a title to the poem, is actually but the subject of the concluding canto. There is, however, a certain unity in the poem, as the seven preceding cantos describe the various events in the history of Moses, which we suppose to pass in vision before him as he stands, by command of God, on Pisgah's summit, and looks upon the land his feet are never to tread. Certainly, the vision soon fades into the light of common day, and we have simply the Bible narrative, amplified, and done into verse; verse, too, which is often diffuse, and "with many a winding bout." Still, there is a pleasant and even flow of description and sentiment throughout the poem, which, presenting the old familiar history in a new form, wins upon and sustains the reader's attention. Several interspersed songs give animation and relief to the slow procession of the narrative. From one of these we extract two verses. Miriam leads the song when the judgments are about to descend upon Egypt.

"They deemed us forsaken, forgotten, and lost;  
They made us their song, their derision, and boast;  
Like wolves of the wood they were ready to tear;  
Like a flock that had strayed from the fold we stood here."

"As a giant that slept Thou hast wak'd Thee, O Lord;  
Thou girdest Thine armour, Thou wearest thy sword;  
To the dust Thou wilt smite them behind and before,  
To the winds they are scattered like chaff from the floor."

Some miscellaneous poems are added, on "Nebuchadnezzar," "Lazarus," "Jonah," "The Death of the Prince Consort," &c.

*A Precious Saviour.* By HENRY JENNINGS, F.R.S.L. (London: J. Nisbet and Co.) This volume is offered "primarily and especially to the young"; but it is well adapted to excite serious inquiry on the most important of all subjects, in the minds of those of any age who are not hardened to appeal by too great familiarity with it. It appeals in a pointed and searching manner to men, to consider their ways; and presents to them Christ, in several of His personal characteristics which are likely to be most attractive to the inquiring and even to the indifferent. We notice in the last chapter an anecdote of Felix Neff, that has often been told before, the comment upon which cannot surely be intended by Mr. Jennings to indicate what he himself would generally do, and advise to be done. Neff, mistaking a stranger for a friend in the street, runs up to him, and tapping him on the shoulder, asks, "What is the state of your soul, my friend?" This startling question led to the conversion of the stranger. What would become of us and of religion, if all good people considered they were doing God service in tapping on the shoulder and questioning all persons whom they might meet?

*Mehemet, The Kurd, and other Tales from Eastern Sources.* By CHARLES WELLS, Turkish Prizeman of

King's College, London, and Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. (London: Bell and Daldy.) The marvels of "The Thousand and One Nights," that opened to us in our boyhood such a world of enchantment, are echoed in these Eastern Tales. The echo is faint, but it may be that our ear is dull to the charm that once was so winning. These tales run in the same course as do those which tell of what befel the mighty Caliph Haroun Alraschid. The wand of the magician is as powerful. The rubbing of the charmed ring summons troops of obedient genii. At the bidding of the astrologer, or some princess of ravishing beauty, gorgeous palaces rise in a night; enchanted weapons are discovered in the heart of huge mountains, and there cut off giants' heads in a trice. All the powers of earth and air, and of the spirits under the earth, are at the control of learned sages; and all manner of wonders become familiar things. The tale which gives its title to the book is much the longest. There are besides, six short ones, a collection of Turkish Proverbs, a Turkish love letter, and several pieces of Oriental poetry, which are "free metrical translations of Eastern verse." The tales have never before been known in England, and the principal one, which is from an Arabic MS., has never been translated into any European language.

*Philip Markham's Two Lessons.* By the Author of "Dick and his Donkey." (London: S. W. Partridge.) We shall not tell what Philip's two lessons were; but invite those who, like him, are easily persuaded to act against their better knowledge and better resolutions, and have not learned to say "No," to come and look at Philip in the disappointment and disgrace he brought upon himself and those he loved, and to listen to the hard lessons he had to learn before he could not only make good resolutions, but keep them. It is a tale of humble life, brightened with much of home love, and chequered with smiles and tears.

*Orange Blossoms: a Gift Book for all who have worn, are wearing, or are likely to wear them.* Edited by T. S. ARTHUR. (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.) Here is a gallery of portraits of young wives; and all who are, have been, or shall be, and, we may add, wish to be, wives, may come and choose the face they like best, the face they would wish to have as the picture of their own. They are of all descriptions,—the sunny, the simple, the sour, the volatile, the vicious, the vain, the ethereal, the material, the foolish, the wise; and are engaged in various domestic duties and joys in the sunlight, or the firelight, or the gloom of home. Several authors have contributed to form this collection, and their productions are therefore of varying merit. There seems to us an exquisite verse in Longfellow's "Hiawatha," which may be taken as the quintessence of all the happier pictures in this gallery,—

"Straight between them ran the pathway,  
Never grew the grass upon it,  
For they kept each other's counsel,  
Spake with naked hearts together."

The volume is tastefully got up in white and gold, and would be a pretty and an acceptable gift to a bride.

**ERRATA.**—Several unfortunate inaccuracies appeared in a review last week, entitled, "Two Volumes of Verse," in consequence of an accidental omission to submit the proof of the article to the writer. The more important were the substitution of the words "arising" for "wrung," "incomparably noble" for "incomparably nobler," "ever just" for "over just," and "mere" for "more."

## Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

### BIRTHS.

FISHER.—April 8, at Darlington, the wife of Mr. S. G. Fisher, of a son.

FOX.—April 9, at Dorchester, the wife of the Rev. J. Fox, B.A., of a son.

PHILIPS.—April 10, at The Evergreens, Coggeshall, the wife of the Rev. A. D. Philips, of a son.

NEWTON.—April 18, the wife of H. W. Newton, of Stratford-on-Avon, of a daughter.

BACHELOR.—April 14, at Glasgow, the wife of the Rev. Henry Batchelor, of a son.

### MARRIAGES.

ALEXANDER—TUCKER.—March 31, at Westminster Chapel, James-street, Buckingham-gate, by the Rev. Samuel Martin, minister, Mr. William Alexander of Maldon road, Haverstock-hill, to Mary Tucker, third daughter of the late Mr. Tucker, of Rudge, Moreland, Bishop, Devonshire. No cards.

COPP—POLE.—April 3, at Ebenezer Chapel, King-street, Bristol, by the Rev. N. Bishop, M.A., Mr. John Copp, of Middleton-court, Somerset, to Miss M. E. Pole, of Egrove, Williton.

GIBBS—ENGLISH.—April 4, at the Independent chapel, Redditch, by the Rev. H. D. Gray, Mr. William Gibbs, jun., to Ellen, daughter of Mr. Henry English, needle manufacturer, all of Redditch.

BAILEY—BENNETT.—April 7, at Salem Chapel, Bradford, by the Rev. Josiah Andrews, Mr. Thomas Bailey, to Miss Christiana Bennett, both of Bradford.

EGAN—SWAINSON.—April 10, at the Congregational chapel, Whitechapel, Salop, by the Rev. George B. Scott, Mr. Martin Charles Egan, to Eliza Harrison, second daughter of the late John Swainson, Esq., all of Whitechapel.

SMITH—BOMPAS.—April 11, at Broughton, Hants, by the Rev. J. H. Millard, of Huntingdon, the Rev. J. Frederick Smith, of Hull, to Sophia Cox, youngest daughter of the late Charles Carpenter Bompas, sergeant-at-law.

ACWORTH—TOWN.—April 12, at South-parade Chapel, Leeds, by the Rev. Jas. Acworth, LL.D., father of the bridegroom, James Acworth, Esq., of Bradford, to Eliza, elder daughter of the late Joseph Town, Esq., of Leeds. No cards.

BUCKLEY—COMPSTON.—April 13, at the Independent chapel, Pendlebury, Manchester, by the Rev. T. Compston, of Settle, and the Rev. J. Compston, of Barnsley, father and brother of the bride, Mr. W. M. Buckley, Bolton, to Mary, youngest daughter of the Rev. T. Compston.

TYRELL—SCOTT.—April 12, at the Congregational chapel, Keigh, Yorkshire, by the father of the bride, assisted by the Rev. J. Wilkinson, Mr. Joseph Tyrell, of Keigh, to Mary Ann Eliza, eldest daughter of the Rev. G. B. Scott, of Whitchurch, Salop.

ROGERS—MEREDITH.—April 13, at the Congregational chapel, East-hill, Wandsworth, by the Rev. James Harcourt, assisted by the Rev. P. H. Davison, the Rev. Henry Rogers, of Petworth, Sussex, to Hannah Bult, eldest daughter of the late John Meredith, Esq., of Durham-place, Lambeth-road.

### DEATHS.

PARKER.—April 6, at Deddington, Oxfordshire, rather suddenly, after the seventh medical operation for dropsy, Mary, the beloved wife of the Rev. O. Parker, aged sixty-eight. Her end was peaceful.

TYLER.—April 8, at her residence, Kentish-town, Mary, widow of the late Thomas Tyler, aged seventy-eight.

DOWNING.—April 10, at Ponder's-end, Ann, relict of the late John Downing, Esq., in her eighty-first year. Friends will please accept this intimation.

## Money Market and Commercial Intelligence.

### City, Tuesday Evening.

The panic which prevailed at the time of our last issue in commercial circles owing to the threatening aspect of Continental politics, and the actual and rumoured failures, has been considerably allayed. Consols have advanced to 86½ to £ for money and 86½ to £ for account.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Briton Medical and General Life Association was held on the 12th inst., Dr. George H. Barlow in the chair. By the report presented to the shareholders, it appeared that 2,769 policies, assuring 829,926L, were issued, yielding in new annual premiums 25,200L 17s. 1d. The income for the year from all sources was 171,994L 4s. 10d. After deducting from that the amount paid for claims and other outgoings, the sum of 70,634L 4s. 4d. was added to the reserve fund. The report was adopted *en masse*.

### BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Friday's *Gazette*.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 82, for the week ending Wednesday, April 11.

#### ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued ..	£28,368,140	Government Debt	£11,015,100
		Other Securities ..	5,984,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion	13,582,140

£28,368,140 £28,368,140

#### BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities	£10,644,354
Rest ..	5,178,002	Other Securities ..	10,582,821
Public Deposits ..	4,027,018	Notes ..	6,817,755
Other Deposits ..	14,956,004	Gold & Silver Coin	879,978
Seven Day and other			
Bills ..	471,824		

£27,215,848 £37,315,848

April 12, 1866.

W. MILLER, Chief Cashier.

**HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT.**—**AGONISING PAINS.**—It is gratifying to hear sufferers recount the ease they derived when first they applied this Ointment to their ulcers, sores, or abscesses, with which they had been afflicted for years. Soon after its application to a bad leg or inflammatory ulcer, it restrains the excitement of blood-vessels and nerves, which at once brings coolness and comfort, and furthers the gradual deposit of healthy materials to fill up the ravages caused by violence, debility, or disease. It expels all noxious matters, and heals all sores soundly. It gives ease to varicose veins, bad legs, and swellings of the feet and joints, when the agony is almost unremitting and the pain too much for a giant's strength.

### Markets.

#### CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, April 16.

The supply of English wheat this morning being very small, and the demand being slightly improved, factors were enabled to realise 1s. per qr. over the currency of this day at night. Foreign was held for a similar advance, but without success; prices, however, were, if anything, rather in favour of the seller. Malting barley a dull sale; grinding sorts must be written 1s. per qr. lower. Beans and peas unaltered in value. We are well supplied with foreign oats; but the bulk of them are light and inferior in quality. These descriptions have met a slow dragging sale at rather less money than could have been obtained a few days ago. Good heavy corn, being scarce, realises fully the rates of last Monday.

#### CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per qr.	Per qr.
Essex and Kent, red, old ..	48 to 51	48 to 51
Ditto new ..	38 45	38 45
White, old ..	50 56	50 56
„ new ..	40 51	40 51
Foreign red ..	48 48	48 48
„ white ..	48 58	48 58

  

BARLEY—	Per qr.	Per qr.
English malting ..	1 35	1 35
Chevalier ..	36 38	36 38
Distilling ..	27 31	27 31
Foreign ..	20 27	20 27

  

OATS—	Per qr.	Per qr.
English feed ..	20 25	20 25
„ potatoe ..	25 30	25 30
Scotish feed ..	22 25	22 25
„ potatoe ..	25 30	25 30

  

MALT—	Per qr.	Per qr.
Pale ..	54 67	54 67
Chevalier ..	64 68	64 68
Brown ..	48 58	48 58

Norfolk, 238 from Aberdeen, 70 from Dundee, and 300 from Ireland. The remainder was composed of foreigners, in fair average condition. All breeds met a heavy demand, at a decline in the quotations of 4d. per lb. In the early part of the morning a few very superior Scots sold at 5s. 4d.; but, subsequently, the quotations declined to 5s. and 5s. 2d. per lb. The whole of the supply from Norfolk was received per railway. The new Order in Council, forbidding the removal of sheep without the Board of Works district, caused great heaviness in the mutton trade, inasmuch as buyers from Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, whose attendance was good, were unable to make purchases. A fall, therefore of 4d. per lb. took place in prices. Prime Downs and half-in-the-wool, sold at 7s. 8d. to 7s.; out of the wool, 5s. 4d. to 5s. 6d.; and clipped Lincoln, 4s. 8d. to 5s. per lb. Lambs were in fair average supply and sluggish request, at from 7s. to 8s. per lb. The few calves on show were disposed of at from 6s. 4d. to 6s. 4d. per lb. Pigs moved off heavily, at depressed quotations. The top figure was 4s. 10d. per lb.

Per lb. to sink the offal.

	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.		
1st. coarse beasts, 4	0 to 4	4		
Second quality . . .	4	6	5	8
Prime large oxen, 4	10	5	0	
Prime Scots, 5s. 0	5	0	5	2
Coarse inf. sheep, 4	2	4	8	
Second quality . . .	4	10	5	8
Pr. coarse woollen 6	0	6	4	
Quarter-old store pigs, 30s. to 34s. each.				

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, April 13.

The supplies of meat on sale here to-day are moderately good. The trade generally is heavy, on lower terms.

Per lb. by the carcass

	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.		
inferior beef	3	6	3	10
Midling ditto	4	6	4	2
Prime large 4	4	6	8	8
Intermediate 4	6	4	8	8
Large park	8	10	4	4
Lambs . . .	8s. 6d.	to 7s. 4d.		

COVENT GARDEN MARKET—LONDON Saturday, April 14.

Although trade is tolerably brisk, last week's quotations are barely maintained, either in the case of fruit or vegetables. Grapes and fresh strawberries are both arriving in excellent condition. Dessert pears consist of Ne Plus Morris, and Easter Bonfire. Apple are coming to Nonpareil, and Court Pippin Plate. Of pineapples there is a fair supply. Salads from France still arrive in good condition. Green peas continue to make their appearance. Cucumbers are plentiful and cheap. Flowers chiefly consist of daturas, orchids, heaths, Chinese primulas, cinerarias, camellias, pelargoniums, azaleas, forced bulbs, and roses.

PROVISIONS. Monday, April 16.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 94 drkns. butter and 2,787 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 15,779 casks, &c., butter, and 2,069 bale and 381 boxes of bacon. The supplies of foreign butter are good, and a further decline of 2s. to 4s. per cwt. was submitted to last week: best Dutch 11s. to 11s. The bacon market ruled firm; sales of best Waterford made at 7s. on board, and in proportion lambs; but owing the high prices paying for pigs in Ireland the shippers require an advance.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, April 16.—Moderate supplies of potatoes are on sale. The trade for nearly all qualities is dull, at rarely late rates. Yorkshire Regent, 60s. to 100s.; Flakes, 70s. to 110s.; Rock, 4s. to 6s.; Scotch Regent, 4s. to 90s.; Rocks 40s. to 60s.; Kent and Essex Regent, 60s. to 90s. per ton.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, April 16.—Our market continues firm, both finest and lowest qualities having been in request lately, at former terms. The continuance of rain in the hop districts has caused unfavourable reports of the plant to reach us from the country during the past week, and planters in consequence show less disposition to realize their present stock. Blandians and Bavarians are a shade dearer, with only a few on offer. American firm, with only a limited inquiry. Mid and East Kent, 100s., 147s., 190s.; Farnham and Country, 100s., 126s., 160s.; Weald of Kent, 80s., 115s., 130s.; Sussex, 70s., 100s., 112s.; Yearlings, 95s., 120s., 130s.; Bavarians, 140s., 160s., 170s. The imports of foreign hops into London last week were 1,900 bales from Antwerp, 58 Bremen, 68 Rotterdam, 46 Hamburg, 23 Dunkirk, and 90 bales from Boulogne.

SEED, Monday, April 16.—There has been but little inquiry for seed since last Monday. Red clover finds but few buyers at irregular prices. White seed is in small supply, and fully maintains its value. Trefolias are fully as dear as last week.

WOOL, Monday, April 16.—Since our last report scarcely any business has been transacted in home-grown wool, either for home use or export. Prices, however, continue to be firmly supported, owing to the small supplies on offer, and the large consumption going on.

TALLOW—LONDON, Monday, April 16.—The tallow trade is flat. The quotation for P.Y.C. is 4s. to 4s. 3d. per cwt. on the spot. Town tallow commands 4s. net cash. Hough fat 2s. 6d. per lb.

OIL, Monday, April 16.—The amount of business passing in oils is very limited, and the tendency of prices is in favour of buyers. Turpentine is dull, on easier terms.

COALS, Monday, April 16.—Market firm, at last day's rates: Hetton, 19s.; Haswell, 19s.; East Hartlepool, 18s. 9d.; West Wylam, 16s. 6d.; Hetton Lyons, 16s. 6d.; Toss, 18s. 6d.; Hollywell, 16s. 9d.; Pensher Primrose, 16s. 6d.; Turnstall, 16s. 6d.; Tramwilegate, 16s. 6d. Fresh ships, 27; left, 1—total, 28.

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